Kings, Brāhmaṇas and Temples in Orissa

AN EPIGRAPHIC STUDY

AD 300–1147

UPINDER SINGH

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Royal endowments to Brahmanas have been interpreted either as a factor of political integration or disintegration in Indian history. Through the first thorough presentation and analysis of the epigraphic data from Orissa, this study argues that the period AD 300-1147 was one of intensive state formation and political development in which royal grants played an important integrative role. During this period, Brahmanas, many of whom were ritual specialists associated with the *Yajurveda*, emerged as land-holders endowed by royal decree with privileged control over land. Despite the consistent appearance of sectarian affiliations in the royal inscriptions, temples did not benefit from royal patronage on a comparable scale. Until the close of the period under review, it was the gift of land to Brahmanas, not the royally-endowed temple establishment, that was a major basis of royal legitimation and political integration in Orissa.

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Upinder Singh

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For my Parents

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Abbreviations

ABORI	*Journal of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*
ARSIE	*Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*
EI	*Epigraphia Indica*
IA	*Indian Antiquary*
IAAR	*Indian Archaeology—A Review*
IESHR	*Indian Economic and Social History Review*
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly*
IO	*Inscriptions of Orissa*, ed. by S. N. Rajaguru
JAHRS	*Jounal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JASBS, N.S.	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series*
JASL	*Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters*
JBORS	*Jounal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JNSI	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*
Jour. of the Bih. Res. Soc.	*Journal of the Bihar Research Society*
JPASB, N.S.	*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series*
JRASBL	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*
MER	*Madras Epigraphical Report*
OHRJ	*Orissa Historical Research Journal*
PIHC	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*
QJAHRS	*Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*
SED	*Sanskṛit-English Dictionary*. by M. Monier-Williams

Preface

In 1985, I went to the Netherlands, inspired by a vague notion of working on Vedic ritual. It was in the library of the Instituut Kern in Leiden that, as a result of days, no, weeks and months of random reading through volumes of *Epigraphia Indica* and *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* and numerous discussions with Professors J.C. Heesterman and J. de Casparis that I stumbled my way towards an interest in the inscriptions of Orissa. A year later, I found myself in Montreal. I continued my research work there in a rather solitary manner, till I joined the Graduate programme of the Faculty of Religious Studies of McGill University. Being a student in a Religious Studies faculty helped bring into focus some of the religious issues that eventually formed an important part of my Ph.D. thesis which this book essentially represents. My thesis supervisor Professor Katherine K. Young's steady guidance and support gave my research direction and form and made me ask of my sources many interesting and important questions that till then had lain outside the purview of my academic orientation. A Humanities Research grant awarded in 1989 by McGill University made it possible for me to travel to London to collect material. I obtained my Ph.D. degree from McGill University in 1990. The reworking of the thesis into this book took place in Delhi thereafter. I owe thanks to the Indian Council of Historical Research for a grant supporting the publication of the book.

Neither the thesis nor this book would have been possible without the generous help of my husband, Vijay. I should also mention Madhava and Raghava, despite whom this work has been accomplished.

Upinder Singh

June, 1993

Introduction

The historical research of the last few decades has done much to challenge the postulate of a changeless Indian past characterized by the existence of inert, self-sufficient village communities superimposed by autocratic monarchical rule. The issue of royal grants to Brāhmaṇas[1] and temples has become central to one of the foremost debates in modern Indian historiography—the nature of the early medieval political, economic, and religious order. Royal grants to Brāhmaṇas have been seen by some scholars as a prime cause of the emergence in early medieval times of a feudal order characterized, among other things, by political and economic fragmentation.[2] However, there are those who emphasize the role played by these grants in political and cultural integration .[3]

Land grants and the early medieval political and economic order

According to R.S. Sharma, the nature of land rights in early medieval times are indicative of a decentralized feudalism. He asserts that "...the political essence of feudalism lay in the organisation of the whole administrative structure on the basis of land; its economic essence lay in the institution of serfdom in which peasants were attached to the soil held by landed intermediaries placed between the king and the actual tillers, who had to pay rent in kind and labour to them. The system was based on a self-sufficient economy in which things were mainly produced for the local use of peasants and their lords and not for the market."[4] According to Sharma, the main features of feudalism can be seen in the Gupta period and were intensified in the post-Gupta period. Some of these feudal features were as follows: royal grants of land; the transfer to the beneficiaries of fiscal and judicial rights; the grant of rights over peasants, artisans and merchants; an

[1]The term 'Brāhmaṇa' has often inaccurately been translated as 'priest.' For a discussion of this issue, see pp. 19-20.

[2]See, for instance, Sharma, [458].

[3]See Kulke, [256]; [257]; [258]. It may be pointed out that even the proponents of Indian feudalism do concede the political, economic, and culturally integrative role of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of land grants (See Sharma, [460], pp. 5, 16).

[4]Sharma, [458], p. 1.

increased incidence of forced labour; the decline in trade and coinage; payment of officials through land revenue assignments; and the growth of the obligations of the sāmantas (subordinate or feudatory rulers).[5] Sharma bases his hypotheses to a large extent on the evidence of royal land grants, both religious and secular. He asserts that the "origin and development of political feudalism is to be sought in the land grants made to brāhmaṇas from the first century onwards."[6] He acknowledges that such grants did have a positive role to play in extending the margin of cultivation and the dissemination of agricultural technology in tribal areas, and that they also played a positive role in the processes of cultural assimilation and political integration. But, according to him, these positive aspects were countered by the fact that the grants created vested interests that led to the fragmentation of political authority.[7] Since Sharma's pioneering work on the subject, the hypothesis of Indian feudalism has been subject to a vigorous redefinition and reworking by some, while it has been questioned and rejected by others.[8]

The depiction of the early medieval period as one of political fragmentation by proponents of the Indian feudalism thesis can be questioned on the basis of evidence of the commencement of a process of intensive state formation at the sub-regional and regional level in the post-Gupta period in many parts of the Indian subcontinent.[9] Further, while the evidence of grants in favour of secular or military assignees would tend to support the hypothesis of the state making grants of land or revenue assignments in lieu of cash payments to administrative personnel or in expectation of military support from military chiefs, the fact remains that the majority of royal grants were made in favour of Brāhmaṇas or temples, the number of secular assignees being comparatively few. The rationale of the state's deliberate erosion of its power through large-scale grants of land to Brāhmaṇas is not convincingly demonstrated by proponents of the feudalism thesis.

In contrast to the feudalism school's emphasis on political and economic fragmentation and its essentially negative view of land grants vis à

[5]Sharma, [458], p. 76. [6]Sharma, [458], p. 263. [7]Sharma, [458], pp. 270-71.

[8]For a re-working of the theory, see, for instance, Jha, [216]. For a rejection of the applicability of the feudal model to India, see Mukhia, [330]; Sircar, [492], pp. 32-34. Sircar rejects the designation of the early medieval Indian order as feudal. He uses the term 'landlordism' rather than feudalism, arguing that, apart from the Vijayanagara period, there is no evidence in the Indian context of the holding of land in return for services, which, according to him, was the central principle of European feudalism.

[9]See Kulke, [256], pp. 245-56.

vis the economy, is Burton Stein's elaboration of the concept of 'nuclear areas' in the context of agrarian integration in early medieval South India. "These nuclear areas, most abstractly conceived, are ecological systems, that is, consisting of relatively intensively organized and interrelated human activities and biological and physical processes. More concretely, the nuclear areas were localities comprising a set of natural and social elements which represented the most advanced level of early South Indian life."[10] According to Stein, during the Pallava and Cōḷa period, the nuclear areas were located in the relatively densely populated drainage basins of the major rivers or in those areas where access to other forms of irrigation made the production of a regular food surplus possible. Within such areas, he suggests, agrarian integration was achieved through the institutions of the brahmadeya (the land endowed to Brāhmaṇas) and the periyanāḍu (the assembly of the territorial unit known as the nāḍu).[11]

According to Hermann Kulke, the concept of nuclear areas is of value not only in relation to agrarian integration but also as far as the political process of early state formation is concerned. Kulke argues that in Orissa, the riverine tracts constituted important nuclear areas of sub-regional power in the early phases of state formation, some of these areas becoming, in the later period, the bases of regional kingdoms in Orissa.[12] More specifically, in relation to the period AD 1000-1200, Kulke identifies three means whereby medieval kings, in the absence of a centralized bureaucracy, attempted to deal with the problem of political integration: patronage of important tīrthas (places of pilgrimage); a policy of systematic and large-scale settlement of Brāhmaṇas; and the construction of imperial temples.[13] Kulke's emphasis on the integrative role of grants to Brāhmaṇas in particular reflects a view of early medieval India that is diametrically opposed to that of the proponents of Indian feudalism; he views this period as one of intensive state development and political and cultural integration in areas such as Orissa.

In the context of models of the early medieval Indian state, reference must also be made to that of the segmentary state, which has been applied by Burton Stein to the South Indian context. The segmentary state model stands in opposition to the depiction of the early medieval state as either centralized or feudal.[14] As elaborated by Stein in relation to South India,

[10]Stein [552], p. 180. [11]Stein [552]. [12]Kulke, [257], pp. 126-27.
[13]Kulke, [257], p. 132.
[14]The emphasis on segmentation in Stein's discussion of the nature of the medieval South

it is not based so much on the evidence of royal land grants as on the denial of the existence of a bureaucracy, fiscal apparatus, standing army, and centralized political control. The segmentary state hypothesis is derived from Aidan W. Southall's study of the political organization of the African Alur tribe. Southall makes a fundamental distinction between the unitary and segmentary state: "Whereas the unitary state is a structure in which there is a central monopoly of power exercised by a specialised administrative staff within defined territorial limits, the segmentary state is a structure in which specialised political power is exercised within a pyramidal series of segments tied together at any one level, by the oppositions between them at a higher level, and ultimately defined by their joint opposition to adjacent unrelated groups."[15] Some of the characteristics of Southall's segmentary state are as follows: Territorial sovereignty in the segmentary state diffuses through a series of zones, and is strongest near the centre and more restricted towards the periphery, where it often shades into a ritual hegemony. Apart from the centralized government, there are various peripheral foci of administration over which the centre's control is limited. The specialized administrative staff is replicated, albeit on a reduced scale, at the peripheral levels. The effective monopoly of force exercized by the centre exists only within a limited range.[16] Burton Stein suggests that sovereignty in a segmentary state is dual, consisting of actual political control and ritual sovereignty.[17] He argues that "South Indian kings were essentially ritual figures except in the often circumscribed core territories of their capitals where they commanded and managed resources and men by virtue of their compelling coercive power (*kṣatra*)."[18]

While it is not the purpose here to discuss the details of the various aspects and implications of the hypotheses of the segmentary state and ritual kingship, especially the empirical underpinnings of these theories, a few general comments may be made.[19] As far as the hypothesis of the segmentary state is concerned, questions may be raised about the validity of a model which, by virtue of the way it has been defined, includes within its purview state systems which, apart from the segmentation of authority that they share, have very little else in common—for instance, the tribal Alur and medieval European feudal systems. The questions that arise with

Indian polity contrasts with his focus on integration in his discussion of brahmadeyas vis à vis the agrarian scene.

[15]Southall, [547], p. 260.
[16]Southall, [547], pp. 248-49.
[17]Stein, [554], pp. 10-11.
[18]Stein, [553], p. 24.
[19]For a critique of the theories of Indian feudalism and the segmentary state, see Kulke, [256] and Chattopadhyaya, [66].

reference to ritual kingship include the following: Are ritual sovereignty and effective political power mutually exclusive categories? Is there not a connection between ritual sovereignty and 'real power?' How does the former come to be established without the latter? Does the absence of a centralized system and lack of a monopoly over military resources necessarily preclude the existence of effective political power and control?

The debate over the nature of the early medieval state is of value insofar as it has challenged the traditional stereotype of the highly centralized Indian state and focused attention on the issue of land rights and the desirability of interpretative models for the understanding of the medieval Indian political order. Nevertheless, authoritative pronouncements on the nature of the medieval 'Indian' economy and polity cannot be made in the absence of detailed region-based studies of political and economic structures which would give a more complete picture of the regional and chronological variations in the nature of these structures. It is quite possible that such studies would indicate that there is no one model that satisfactorily treats the data from the entire Indian subcontinent for the ancient and early medieval periods.

The empirical evidence regarding the details of royal grants is of direct relevance for understanding the nature of the political, economic, and religious order in ancient and early medieval India. This study presents the first detailed analysis of royal endowments to Brāhmaṇas and temples in Orissa during the period AD 300-1147. The focus is on the relationship between kings, Brāhmaṇas, and temples during this period, particularly the relationship between grants to Brāhmaṇas and temples and the formation and stablilization of kingdoms.[20]

The sources of this study

The starting point of this study was the compilation of a comprehensive list of the published inscriptions of the various dynasties of ancient and medieval Orissa. Some of the earlier inscriptions have been catalogued by S.C. De.[21] A much larger number of inscriptions have been collected in the five volumes of *Inscriptions of Orissa* edited by S. N. Rajaguru and a sixth volume of the same edited by Snigdha Tripathy.[22] However, these works do not give a complete list of the published inscriptions of all the ancient

[20]A detailed analysis of administrative structure, especially the titles, official designations, and fiscal terms that occur in the inscriptions lies beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, appendices appearing at the end of this work provide lists of such technical terms.

[21]De, ed., [101].

[22]Rajaguru, ed., [404]; Tripathy, ed., [572].

and early medieval Orissan dynasties, and it is hoped that this book will make a contribution in this respect.

This study is based on an analysis of 302 Sanskrit inscriptions of Orissa,[23] ranging in time from the fourth to the middle of the twelfth century AD. The rationale of the selection of this particular time-frame is that from the fourth century, a large number of inscriptions recording royal endowments become available; hence the *terminus a quo* of this study. The *terminus ad quem* is constituted by the end of the reign of the imperial Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (AD 1078-1147), the construction of the Jagannātha temple during the later years of whose reign marks a distinct stage in the relationship between kingship and the sacred domain. Since ancient and modern political boundaries do not necessarily coincide, the geographical perimeters of the study on occasion expand to include, apart from the thirteen districts comprising the modern state of Orissa, areas such as the Medinipur district of Bengal, the Raipur, Raigarh, and Bilaspur districts of Madhya Pradesh, and the Srikakulam, Vishakhapatnam, and East Godavari districts of Andhra Pradesh.

The majority of the inscriptions that form the source material of this study are royal charters recording grants of land made by kings to Brāhmaṇas or to temples. As is to be expected with inscriptions with a wide chronological as well as spatial range, the inscriptions display a considerable degree of variation in appearance, style, language, script, and technical vocabulary. While a few are engraved on stone, sometimes on stone slabs imbedded in the walls of temples, the majority are engraved on one or more copper plates, strung together on a ring when the plates are more than one in number. The plates usually display the seal of the monarch who issued the grant; this seal often bears certain motifs revealing the religious affiliations of the king, and may also bear a short legend.

The arrangement of the contents of the land grant charters generally follows a more or less uniform pattern. The inscriptions usually open with an auspicious formula, which may be followed by a eulogy of a deity (or the Buddha, in the case of Buddhist kings), and the eulogy and genealogy of the royal donor. The genealogical portions make the land grant charters fulfill, in addition to their main purpose of recording gifts or transactions

[23]While the language of the inscriptions that form the basis of this study is Sanskrit, the influence of local dialect is often discernible. A few of the later inscriptions contain a mixture of Sanskrit with Telugu or with Oriya. The large number of Gaṅga inscriptions in the Telugu language and/or script that have been found on the walls of temples of Andhra Pradesh have not been included as sources for this study.

of land, the role of "secular public notice records," maintaining for posterity information concerning the dynasties during whose rule the epigraphs were incised.[24] The genealogical portion of the grant is usually followed by a specification of the place whence the charter was issued and a list of officials and categories of individuals informed about the grant. Then follow the details of the location of the gifted land, the beneficiary, the purpose of the grant, and the date. Some of the land grant charters give a detailed account of the boundaries of the land. Almost all contain certain conventional benedictory and imprecatory verses. The inscriptions usually conclude with the names and titles of certain individuals associated with the grant, such as the writer, the engraver, and the dūtaka (the 'messenger,' who delivered the king's order regarding the grant to the local authorities).[25]

Notwithstanding their importance for the reconstruction of political, social, economic, and religious history, there are certain problems that arise in the utilization of the epigraphic sources. Among these are the imperfect reading and editing of the text of many of the epigraphs by scholars. This is further aggravated by the fact that language of the inscriptions is often an imperfect variety of Sanskrit, replete with orthographical and grammatical errors and with a marked influence of local dialect, which often renders difficult the interpretation of the contents. Also, these are, after all, records issued by royal courts, embellished with panegyric, following an almost monotonous conventional form in terms of style and even content. The epigraphic technical vocabulary—especially that relating to the titles and designations of officials, fiscal terms, and the terms of the grants—is often obscure, permitting only a very general and tentative understanding of its meaning. Finally, the dating of the epigraphic sources is also fraught with difficulties. Palaeography can only indicate the approximate age of an inscription, and many of the inscriptions are dated in regnal years or in eras, the initial dates of which are controversial.

The organization and scope of this study

Given the long chronological span of this study, the inscriptions and the evidence yielded by them have been divided into three rough chronologi-

[24]Stein, [553], p. 154.

[25]Certain inscriptions list additional persons involved in the drawing up and execution of the grant: the name and designation of the person who heated the plates (for the purpose of fixing the seal) or who sealed the plates, and sometimes of the individuals who witnessed the grant, or with whose cognisance the grant was made, are sometimes given.

cal periods: Period I—the fourth to the seventh century; Period II—the seventh to the tenth century; and Period III—the tenth to the mid-twelfth century. This division into two more or less equal and one shorter period is based on places where the 'cuts' could be made with a modicum of tidiness. As the political history of ancient and early medieval Orissa does not yield easily to this sort of systemization, this periodization is a rough, overlapping one, and there is a certain degree of 'spillage' between the phases. It may be noted, however, that Period I falls within what is spoken of in general terms as the 'ancient' period, while Periods II and III correspond to what is often referrred to as the 'early medieval' period of Indian history.

A review of the political history of ancient and early medieval Orissa forms the starting point of this study. Chapter I gives a chronological account of the dynastic history of Orissa from the fourth to the mid-twelfth century, with an additional focus on royal titles of political import and the geographical locale of kingdoms. A series of maps indicate the find-spots of the inscriptions and political centres whence they were issued, where identifiable.[26] Chapter II examines the royal praśasti (panegyric) for the religious elements with which kingship sought to identify, particularly the sectarian affiliations of kings. The Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of royal endowments form the subject of Chapter III. The brahmadeya holdings (the land-holdings gifted to Brāhmaṇas), their location, and the nature of the privileges and exemptions bestowed on them, are discussed in Chapter IV. Chapter V examines the data relating to royal endowments to religious establishments, particularly temples—the deities patronised and the terms of the land holdings gifted in their favour. In each chapter, the data provided by the inscriptions is presented first; this is followed by a summary of the evidence and the general trends that emerge from it. This has been done in order not to sacrifice precision and specificity in dealing with a large body of inscriptions belonging to a large number of dynastic groups, in the process of making general observations on the basis of the data. The concluding chapter draws on the conclusions of each of the five preceding chapters to make some general observations on the nature of the

[26]Maps have generally been prepared for dynasties with more than one inscription, and only if the specific find-spots are known. A few place-names that I have not been able to locate on the maps do not make an appearance. It may be noted that in some cases, more than one inscription has been found at a particular find-spot. It has not been possible to indicate this on the maps due to constraints of space. The following sources have been used for the preparation of the maps: National Atlas of India, [338]; AMS World Topographical Series, [12]; Corpus Topographicum Indiae, [555].

relationship between kings, Brāhmaṇas, and temples in ancient and early medieval Orissa.

As the subject of this study is situated at a point of convergence of political, social, economic, and religious history, a variety of issues and debates drawn from these areas are of direct relevance. Some of these are discussed below.

The early state: problems of definition and origins

In the fourth century BC, parts of Orissa came to be included in the Magadhan empire under the Nanda dynasty (364-324 BC). In 271 BC, Kaliṅga[27] was conquered by the Maurya emperor Aśoka. The headquarters of Aśokan rule in Kaliṅga were located in the Mahanadi delta and the Rishikulya valley—at Tosalī (in or around Dhauli in Puri district) and Samāpā (in the vicinity of Jaugada in Ganjam district). The earliest epigraphic evidence of indigenous state formation in Orissa is constituted by the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela of the Mahāmeghavāhana family and the Cedi lineage; the inscription may be assigned roughly to the first century BC. The political centre of the Cedi kingdom seems to have been located around Bhubaneswar and the Mahanadi delta area. In the early centuries of the Christian era, numismatic evidence indicates that parts of Orissa came to be included in the Kuṣāṇa empire, probably ruled through Kuṣāṇa viceroys. An inscription found in the temple of Bhadrakālī, about five miles from Bhadrak town in Baleshwar district, indicates the rule in this area of a king named Gaṇa in about the third century AD.[28] The evidence of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta indicates that several principalities of Orissa came under Gupta domination in the fourth century AD.[29] It is from this period onwards that, after several phases of domination by large North Indian empires—those of the Nandas, Mauryas, Kuṣāṇas, and Guptas—internal political and social developments in Orissa reached the point of maturity required for the commencement of a sustained process of monarchical state formation.

Some of the aspects of the more general debate on the definition, nature and origins of the state, especially the early state, are of relevance to an understanding of the political process of the transition from chieftaincies

[27]The term 'Kaliṅga' had varying connotations in different periods of Orissan history. As a province of the Maurya empire, it probably corresponded to the modern Puri-Ganjam area of Orissa.

[28]Sircar, [471]. See also *idem*, [469]; Panigrahi, [356], pp. 241, 245 reads the name of the king as Suraśamma.

[29]Fleet, ed., [137], pp. 7, ll. 19-20.

to monarchies in ancient Orissa. In the western intellectual tradition, the secular debate on the origins and nature of the state goes back at least to the sixteenth century to the writings of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau. While it is not the intention here to summarize the large body of literature on the subject, some of the recent contributions to the debate on state formation that are of direct relevance to the present study may be highlighted.

The origins of the state have been traced to a variety of factors. These include population pressure; geographical location and circumscription; long-distance trade; technological change; control over irrigation networks; social stratification; conflict—between individuals, kin-groups, classes, and societies; warfare and conquest; defence against aggression; and the many recognizable benefits of state organization.[30] While none of these factors alone can be demonstrated to have provided the impetus to statehood in all cases, different combinations of these can be seen to have been operational in various contexts.

One of the major problems that arises in the context of the early state is that of the definition of the state and the bases of the distinction between the state and non-state. These definitions, in fact, also reflect theories of the origins and nature of the state. While most of them refer to the state in general, including the pre-industrial as well as industrial state within their purview, it is the former, and more particularly the early stage of the former, that is the focus of interest for this study. Elman R. Service describes the state as characterized by the existence of civil law and formal government that are "institutionalized, enacted, official," and which "employ, threaten, or imply the actual use of force."[31] Thus, he sees the power of force and the power of authority as the essential ingredients of the state.[32] Ronald Cohen sees the state as a specific type of political system characterized by a centralized bureaucracy and dominant control of the mechanisms of force by the central authority.[33] He further emphasizes that the difference between chieftaincies and states lies in the state's ability to counter forces of political fission.[34] The central element in Morton H. Fried's conception of the state is social stratification based on differential access of members of a society to basic productive necessities.[35] Fried also makes the useful distinction between pristine states—those which emerged from indigenous stimuli, usually with no more advanced models present—and secondary states—which had the model of already-existing states at

[30]For a summary and discussion of some of these theories, see Cohen, [79]; Service, [456].
[31]Service, [457], p. 14. [32]Service, [457], p. 15. [33]Cohen, [79], p. 69.
[34]Cohen, [79], pp. 69-70. [35]Fried, [139].

hand and whose origins were related to pressures from the latter.[36] Henri J.M. Claessen and Peter Skalník, define the early state as "a centralized socio-political organization for the regulation of social relations in a complex, stratified society divided into at least two basic strata, or emergent social classes—viz. the rulers and the ruled," the relations of political dominance and tributary obligations between the rulers and the ruled being legitimized by a common ideology founded on reciprocity.[37]

As what is being dealt with is an evolutionary process, often very gradual, it is difficult to identify the precise point in the continuum of political development where the transition to statehood takes place. In relation to the early state, the problem of the transition from pre-statehood to statehood has been addressed in various ways. One of these is Service's delineation of the period of transition as a distinct evolutionary phase which he describes as the chiefdom stage, characterized by "centralized direction, hereditary hierarchical status arrangements with an aristocratic ethos, but no formal, legal apparatus of forceful repression."[38] He adds that the organization of the chiefdom is theocratic, the form of submission to authority being that of a religious congregation to a priest-chief.[39] An attempt to calibrate the differences among the early states and to distinguish them from the mature state comes from Claessen and Skalník, who speak of three types of early states—the inchoate early state, the typical early state, and the transitional early state.[40] The criteria on the basis of which they make this distinction are the following: the degree of development of trade and markets (whether these were of local or supra-local importance); the mode of succession to important functions (whether this was hereditary or through appointment); the evidence of the extent of private ownership of land; the method of remuneration of functionaries (whether in kind or in the form of regular salaries); and the degree of development of the judicial and taxation systems (the extent to which these were well-developed and in the hands of specialized functionaries).[41] Claessen and Skalník claim that their tripartite model of the early state is supported by empirical data drawn from a variety of cultural contexts. The problem, however, is not simply one of definition. There is also the question of how to identify the criteria or diagnostic features of statehood

[36]Fried, [139], p. 37. The distinction between pristine and secondary states is discussed in greater detail by Fried, [138], pp. 231-42.

[37]Claessen and Skalník, [73].

[38]Service, [457], p. 16.

[39]Service, [457], p. 16.

[40]Claessen and Skalník, [73], p. 641.

[41]Claessen and Skalník, [73], pp. 640-41.

or non-statehood on the basis of the kind of evidence, literary and archaeological, that is available in relation to ancient political systems. This is a problem that arises in the case of the ancient and early medieval polity of Orissa.

The uneasiness of the solutions to the problem of defining statehood, even those that expressly profess to be sensitive to the problem, results in part from the great variability and variety in the types, organization, and features of the historical states. Thus, the emphasis on centralization that appears in many definitions, may be questioned in the Indian context. Some of the remarks made by Romila Thapar in relation to the typology of early empires seem to be of relevance for a general understanding of the early Indian state.[42] Thapar questions the traditional characterization of ancient empires as uniform and highly centralized political structures and suggests that these empires can be best understood in terms of the relations betwcen what she terms the 'metropolitan state' (the nucleus of a highly-developed state) and the peripheral territories over which the metropolitan state extends its power through conquest. She points out that the earliest empires subsumed a wide range of politico-economic systems (some pre-state ones, others which had already attained statehood) with which the metropolitan state maintained a variety of flexible relationships and over which the nature and extent of its control varied.

Thapar's focus on the heterogeneity within the network of political and economic relationships that characterized early empires such as the Mauryan appears to be of some relevance in the understanding the nature of the more modest states (she herself says that the empire should be seen as a further, more evolved form of the state), especially the relationship between pre-state tribal societies and the early monarchical states. More directly, her highlighting of the impact of the hegemony of the metropolitan state on state development in the peripheral areas isolates what seems to have been one of the important factors in the emergence of monarchical states in peripheral areas such as Orissa.

Sudarshan Senivaratne has used Thapar's concept of the metropolitan state to reconstruct the process of secondary state formation in Orissa and Andhra.[43] Senivaratne discusses the internal as well as external impetus to secondary state formation in the Indian subcontinent. The internal developments that occurred prior to the conquest of these areas by the metropolitan state and made the later transition to statehood possible include the emergence of an agrarian subsistence base, demographic expansion, the

[42]Thapar, [566].

[43]Senivaratne, [455].

development of rudimentary craft specialization and an exchange network, a degree of social differentiation, and the emergence of spheres of political influence.[44] The external impetus was constituted by the impact of the metropolitan state—the Mauryan in the case of Kaliṅga, and the Sātavāhana in the case of Andhra. According to Senivaratne, "...during the period of metropolitan state hegemony the prestate social elites acquired cultural sophistication, legitimization of social status, and a familiarity with the state apparatus required for a more efficient control over subjects and resources."[45] He points out that it is not surprising that when the great empires disintegrated, the erstwhile seats of provincial governments emerged as centres of political power under local ruling groups.[46]

The debate on the nature and origins of the state indicates that state formation and the stabilization of state structures was a complex process emerging from the convergence of variety of factors that differed in various historical and cultural contexts. These processes cannot be seen simply as political in nature; they involved factors operating at various other levels—social, economic, religious, and what may broadly be termed as 'cultural.' As the result of the endeavours of scholars such as R.D. Banerji, D.C. Sircar, S.N. Rajaguru, and K.C. Panigrahi, we now have the skeleton of a dynastic history of Orissa within the framework of a relative chronology.[47] On the basis of the research conducted to date on the political history of ancient and early medieval Orissa, it is now possible to address questions of a different order. There is scope for reconstructing the process of transition from the stage of the relatively small, unstable chieftaincies and kingdoms to that of the more ambitious and successful ventures epitomized by the Gaṅga empire, by focusing on royal policies, integrative mechanisms and strategies of stabilization.[48] In the area and period that form the focus of this study, royal grants appear to have been among the factors that created networks of integration crucial to state formation and stabilization.

[44]Senivaratne, [455], p. 319.

[45]Senivaratne, [455], p. 334.

[46]Senivaratne, [455], p. 328.

[47]The contribution of these writers appears in a large number of articles cited in the bibliography of this work. Apart from these articles, reference may be made to the following works: Banerji, [28]; Rajaguru, ed., [404]; Panigrahi, [358].

[48]These are questions that have been put forward for the first time in relation to Orissa by Hermann Kulke, to whose writings I am indebted. See for instance, Kulke, [256], [257], [258].

Kingship and the sacred domain

There are a number of authoritative secondary works on the history, mythology and iconography of the various Indian religious sects, especially Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva.[49] In contrast to South India, where the hymns of the Āḻvārs and Nāyanārs present abundant source material on the perspectives of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, the reconstruction of the early history of sectarianism in Orissa is confounded by the lack of literary sources and is based almost entirely on epigraphical and architectural sources.[50] Until the twelfth century AD, judging from the predominance of Śaiva temples, Orissa was a predominantly Śaiva region. Then, in the twelfth century AD, the worship of the deity Puruṣottama (later known as Jagannātha) was raised to the status of an imperial cult with the construction of the Puruṣottama temple at Puri by the Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. In AD 1230, Anaṅgabhīma III dedicated his empire to Puruṣottama, describing himself as the deputy and son of the god. These events can be viewed as part of the process of the consolidation of the Gaṅga imperium, especially as the rapidly growing power of the Delhi Sultanate came to be recognized as a threat to the existence of that imperial structure. The cult of Jagannātha and the interface of religion and politics that it reflects has long attracted the attention of scholars. Accordingly, there are a number of studies on this cult, including the recent work, *The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa*, representing the joint research of Heidelberg and Utkala Universities.[51] The relationship of kingship with the religious domain in the pre-twelfth century period, is, however, less well-understood.

The study of ancient Indian kingship has traditionally been based on literary sources. There is an abundance of secondary literature on issues such as the origins and nature of Indian kingship.[52] The issue of the relationship between kingship and the sacred domain has often focused on or assumed the divinity of the Indian king. The brahmanical tradition does not, in fact, reveal a consistent theory of kingship, and the questions of the divinity of the king and the nature and basis of his authority are a problem that brahmanical literary tradition certainly grapples with but does not resolve. On the one hand, there is the frequent comparison between king

[49]See, for instance, Banerjea, [16]; Bhandarkar, [52]; Clothey and Longs, eds., [75]; Gonda, [169]; Cutler, [84]; Hardy, [176]; Jaiswal, [214].

[50]See, for instance Patnaik, [368]. [51]Eschmann, Kulke and Tripathi eds., [128].

[52]See, for instance, Kane, [224], 3: 1-103; Gonda, [168]; Dumont, [121]; Heesterman, [180].

and deity, the statement in *Manu* 7. 4-5 that the king was created from the particles of Indra, Vayu, Yama, the Sūrya, Agni, Varuṇa, Candra, and Kubera;[53] on the other, there is the statement found in the *Mahābhārata* (Anuśāsana Parva 61. 32-33), which gives the remorseless recommendation that a wicked king should be killed as if he were a mad dog. According to Kane, these dramatically different sorts of statements were simply delivered from two different points of view and were addressed to two different audiences: the statements emphasizing the power and preeminence of the king were made by the smṛtikāras in the interests of maintaining peace and order and were addressed to the subjects of the king, while the denunciation of wicked kings was to guard against the very real possibility of the abuse of the power entrusted to kings, and was addressed to kings and their ministers.[54] Gonda observes that there is no contradiction between the portrayal of the king as a 'deva' (god), on the one hand, and the denunciation of wicked kings and the sanction of regicide under certain conditions, on the other, because morality is not inherent in the idea of the deva, whether god or king.[55] According to him, the different statements on the issue are not reflections of two different views of kingship but the reflection of the dichotomy between the ideal and the actual.[56] Robert Lingat voices the somewhat similar view that it was not the king but the royal function that was regarded as divine by the smṛtikāras.[57] He suggests that the emphasis in some texts on the divine origin and nature of kingship was in order to endow the king's person with respect and glory, and was never presented as the essential reason why the king should be obeyed.[58] J.C. Heesterman, on the other hand, suggests that the ambivalence of the brahmanical texts on this issue reflects a very real and irresoluble problem—that of ultimate authority. The statements in the texts, according to him, do not add up to a coherent and consistent theory of sacral kingship.[59] The fact that it is the Brāhmaṇa who reigns supreme in the realm of religious values means that "kingship remains, even theoretically, suspended between sacrality and secularity, divinity and mortal humanity,

[53]These deities appear in later literature as the 'lokapālas' or guardians of the universe. Protection is one of the main duties of the king, and Gonda points out that in later texts such as the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the epithet 'lokapāla' is also applied to the king (Gonda, [168], p. 30) .

[54]Kane, [224], 3: 27. [55]Gonda, [168], pp. 33-34.

[56]Ibid., p. 35. According to Gonda, the inviolability of the unrighteous monarch in *Nārada Smṛti* 18. 21 is an exception; the general Dharmaśāstra position was that only good kings were to be considered devas.

[57]Lingat, [268], p. 208. [58]Ibid. [59]Heesterman, [180], p. 3.

straightforward life and never for the sake of subsistence follow the ways of the world.

The Dharmaśāstras lay down the six duties of the Brāhmaṇa as consisting in yajana (performing sacrifices), yājana (performing sacrifices for others), adhyayana (study), adhyāpana (teaching), dāna (offering gifts), and pratigraha (accepting gifts). Three of these duties—sacrificing, study, and offering gifts—are shared by the Brāhmaṇas with the other two twice-born varṇas, the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas.[65] It may be pointed out, however, that even though the acceptance of gifts was regarded as one of the activities appropriate to the Brāhmaṇa, and even though the normative texts eulogize the giving of gifts to Brāhmaṇas, at the same time the texts are replete with numerous restrictions and prescriptions concerning the appropriateness or otherwise of the donor, of the recipient, and of the gift itself. In fact, the ideal Brāhmaṇa is one who does not accept any kind of gift (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 13. 4. 3. 14).[66]

The normative texts emphasize the importance of the purohita (chaplain; literally, 'one who is placed in front') to the king. The king needs the purohita to officiate at his sacrifice; the gods do not accept the offerings of a king who does not have a purohita (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 8. 24). But the purohita was more than an officiant in the sacrifice; he was depicted as the counsellor of the king, as an important complement to royal authority. The relationship between purohita and king is described in the ancient texts as that between sky and earth (*Ṛg Veda* 10. 61, *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* 5. 1. 5. 8).[67]

Taittirīya Āraṇyaka 2. 10 and in the Dharmaśāstras (Kane, [224], pp. 697-98). The householder did not need the ministration of an officiating priest in order to perform the pañca-mahāyajñas; the aim of the performance of these rites was not the attainment of personal material or spiritual goals but the discharging of one's debt to the gods, the ancestors, the ancient sages, and to all beings (Kane, [224], p. 697). Some of the Dharmaśāstras came to give the raison d'être of the pañca-mahāyajñas as the atonement for the injury that is caused to human life in the hearth, grinding mill, broomstick, winnowing basket and such household items, mortar and pestle, and water-jar (Kane, [224], p. 698). Kane cites *Manu* 3. 68-71, *Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra* 59. 19-20, *Śaṅkhyāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* 5. 1-2, and *Matsya Purāṇa* 52. 15-16 in this regard.

[65]According to Heesterman, the significance of this is that ".. only the brahmin is complete and independent in that he alone encompasses both sides of the relationships involved" (Heesterman, [178], p. 214, n. 89)

[66]The emphasis in post-Vedic times on the non-acceptance of gifts on the part of Brāhmaṇas may possibly be seen as a consequence of the influence of the heterodox religions.

[67]Coomaraswamy argues that the marriage formula "I am That, thou art This, I am Sky, thou art Earth," addressed, according to *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 8. 27, by the purohita to the king, was in fact spoken by the king to the purohita, as it is the king who is undoubtedly the feminine partner in this "marriage" between the sacerdotum (brahma) and regnum (kṣatra). According

Later, the food and gifts of the king are said to take away the Brāhmaṇa's lustre (*Manu* 4. 218; *Mahābhārata* 13. 35. 23).[68] According to *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* 1. 213, the Brāhmaṇa who, although entitled to, does not accept a gift, attains to the highest world.[69] *Manu* 4. 186 declares that a Brāhmaṇa should not frequently resort to accepting gifts as the acceptance of gifts results in the loss of his spiritual power.[70]

In the *Ṛg Veda*, Brāhmaṇas appear as priests officiating in the sacrifice, as ṛṣis (seers), as reciters of hymns.[71] The Dharmaśāstras bear testimony to the great variety of vocations followed by Brāhmaṇas in the subsequent period, and suggest that many of them fell short of Brāhmaṇa ideals. *Manu* (3. 150-165) includes the following among those who should not be invited to a śrāddha:[72] Brāhmaṇas who are thieves, outcastes, eunuchs, or atheists; temple-priests; paid servants of a village or a king; those who do not maintain the sacred fire; those who neglect the five great sacrifices; those who teach for a stipulated fee and are taught on that condition; those who instruct Śūdra pupils and those who are taught by a Śūdra; those who subsist by astrology; those who constantly ask for favours; and those who live by tending cattle or by agriculture.[73] *Atri* (verses 373-83) classifies Brāhmaṇas into ten categories which include Kṣatra-Brāhmaṇas (warrior-Brāhmaṇas), Vaiśya-Brāhmaṇas (Brāhmaṇas who pursue vocations appropriate to Vaiśyas, viz. agriculture, animal rearing, and trade), and Śūdra Brāhmaṇas (Brāhmaṇas who sell lac, salt, dyes, milk, ghee, honey, and meat).[74] Needless to say, Brāhmaṇas of this sort were not regarded with much favour by the law-givers.

to Coomaraswamy, "the whole of Indian political theory is implied and subsumed" in these words (Coomaraswamy, [81], p. 1).

[68]Cited by Heesterman, [178], pp. 37-38.

[69]Cited by Kane, [224], 2, pt. 1, p. 113. [70]Ibid.

[71]While the terms Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya occur frequently in the early parts of the *Ṛg Veda*, the origins of the four-fold varṇa classification lie in the later Vedic age. The earliest reference to this classification occurs in the Puruṣasūkta which occurs in Book 10 (10. 90) of the *Ṛg Veda*; this book is regarded as a later interpolation. It may be noted that the Puruṣasūkta does not mention the term varṇa, and refers to the origins of the Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya (the term Kṣatriya is not used), Vaiśya, and Śūdra.

[72]The śrāddha is "...a ceremony in honour and for the benefit of dead relatives observed with great strictness at various fixed periods and on occasions of rejoicing as well as mourning by the surviving relatives..." (*SED*, p. 1097).

[73]It may be noted that while some of these categories refer to Brāhmaṇas in particular, others seem to apply to members of the twice-born varṇas (Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, and Vaiśya) in general.

[74]Cited by Kane, [224], 2, pt. 1, pp. 130-31.

Vocation, thus, formed an important basis of differentiation within the Brāhmaṇa class. Another basis was that of regional status. This was related to the definition in brahmanical literature of what constituted Āryavarta, land of the Āryas. According to *Manu* (2. 21), Āryavarta included all of northern India bounded by the Vindhyas in the south and the ocean in the east and west. In the opinion of the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* (1. 1, 2. 6) and the *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra* (1. 12), however, Āryavarta meant only the Gangetic doab. According to the former text, the eastern peoples such as the Puṇḍras, Vaṅgas, and Kaliṅgas were of 'mixed origin' (saṁkīrṇa-yonayaḥ); to venture into their territory was an act which merited the performance of expiatory sacrifices such as the Punaṣṭoma or the Sarvapṛṣṭha (*Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* 1. 1. 29). The attitude towards the eastern regions, where Aryanization made its impact after it had spread over northern India, had its reflection in the regional status of Brāhmaṇas. According to the *Matsya Purāṇa* (16. 16), Brāhmaṇas who lived in the Mleccha countries, in Triśaṅku, Barbara, Oḍra, Andhra, Ṭakka, Draviḍa, and Koṅkaṇa, were not to be invited to śrāddhas.[75] In general, the Brāhmaṇas of the north were considered superior to those who belonged to the east and to other parts of the subcontinent.

The normative texts themselves indicate the divergence between the ideal of the Brāhmaṇa and the reality of the situation. One of the means whereby these texts came to terms with this divergence was through the idea of Āpad-dharma (duties in distress). Thus, *Manu* 10. 116 enumerates ten means whereby a Brāhmaṇa may maintain himself in times of distress: learning, arts and crafts, work for wages, the service of others, rearing cattle, trade, agriculture, contentment with little, alms, and usury.

One of the major branches of modern scholarship on the subject of the Brāhmaṇas has focused on the relationship between king and Brāhmaṇa as reflected in the relationship in Vedic literature, especially the Brāhmaṇa texts, between brahma (the spiritual principle) and kṣatra (the principle of secular power), and between Mitra and Varuṇa, the two gods personifying these principles.[76] There are instances in these texts where the emphasis is on the mutual dependence of brahma and kṣatra (as, for instance, in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 2. 33). The aspect of polarity and complementarity in the relationship of Mitra and Varuṇa is reflected in *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* 1. 7. 10. 1, which speaks of the relationship between the two as that of day to night, of light to darkness. Then again, it is the distinction between

[75]Cited by Kane, [224], 2, pt. 1, p. 103.

[76]See, for instance, Dumont, [121]; Dumézil, [120]; Coomaraswamy, [81].

brahma and kṣatra that is emphasized, almost to the point of opposition in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3. 2. 4. 18, where it is said that that which pertains to Mitra does not pertain to Varuṇa, and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 13. 1. 5. 2. 3, which states that the kṣatra takes no delight in the brahma, nor does the brahmavarcasa (vigour or splendour of brahma) delight in the kṣatra. *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* 12. 2. 9, describes brahma as the womb from which kṣatra springs. And several passages in Vedic literature, such as *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* 1. 6. 16 and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 5. 4. 4. 9-13 assert the superiority of brahma to kṣatra, and the superiority of Brāhmaṇa to king.[77] The Vedic texts, thus, emphasize the complex, many-faceted nature of the relationship between brahma and kṣatra.

Louis Dumont speaks of the "necessary solidarity, distinction, and hierarchy" of the two spheres of brahma and kṣatra.[78] He asserts that the relationship between priest and king was one of "mutual but asymmetrical dependence;" the Brāhmaṇa, while spiritually superior, was materially dependent on the king; the king, while materially superior, was spiritually inferior to the Brāhmaṇa.[79] Dumont also argues for the emergence in India of a relatively "secularized" kingship. He speaks of "the separation within the religious universe of a sphere or realm which is opposed to the religious, and roughly corresponds to what we call political."[80]—This is the realm of force as distinct from that of values or norms, that of artha as distinct from dharma.

Some of Dumont's postulates have been questioned by J.C. Heesterman, who points out that the translation of the term Brāhmaṇa as 'priest' may be misleading.[81] Heesterman highlights the complicated nature of the Brāhmaṇa's priesthood and the contradiction involved in the relationship between king and Brāhmaṇa. This contradiction, with which the Vedic ritual texts and the Dharmaśāstras often struggle but do not resolve, arose from the fact that the Brāhmaṇa priest's dependence on his patron, his acceptance of food and gifts from the latter, impaired his status and purity.[82] Heesterman argues that the social preeminence of the Brāhmaṇa was, in fact, not founded on his priesthood, but on his representing the values of renunciation.[83]

Apart from the discussions of the relationship between king and Brāhmaṇa as reflected in the normative literature, modern studies on the

[77]The references cited here are drawn from Coomaraswamy, [81].

[78]Dumont, [121], p. 50. [79]Ibid., pp. 51-52. [80]Ibid., p. 55.

[81]Heesterman, [179], p. 43. It may be added that Dumont is not alone in translating 'Brāhmaṇa' as 'priest.'

[82]Heesterman, [179], p. 45. [83]*Idem.*, [178].

Brāhmaṇas have also taken the form of ethnographic accounts, studies of brahmanical institutions, and more descriptive studies based on an analysis of the empirical evidence provided by ancient literature and/or epigraphic sources. Among the ethnographic studies which include a discussion of the Brāhmaṇas are those by H.H. Risley, Nripendra Kumar Dutt, Edgar Thurston, W. Crooke, and Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya.[84] While such studies throw light on the more recent history of the social organization and customs of the Brāhmaṇas, they are not always of direct relevance to an understanding of the history of the Brāhmaṇas in ancient and early medieval India. Studies of brahmanical institutions such as gotra, caraṇa, and śākhā are of greater relevance in understanding the basis of brahmanical social organization in the earlier periods. Among them are the writings of Ghurye, Karandikar, Brough, Kosambi, and Kane.[85] Apart from being few in number, these studies do not, however, provide an exhaustive account, and many aspects of the history of institutions such as gotra, pravara, caraṇa, and śākhā remain to be investigated.

Studies of the history of the Brāhmaṇas drawing on evidence from literature and inscriptions are rather few. Among them is Govind Prasad Upadhyay's study of the history of the Brāhmaṇa class between 200 BC and AD 500, which attempts to place the details within the broader dynamics of social, political, and religious history.[86] Citrarekha Gupta's study of the Brāhmaṇas highlights the diversity within the Brāhmaṇa class as it emerges from epigraphic sources of north India.[87] Puspa Niyogi's book based on epigraphic evidence on the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal gives a more meticulous presentation of details from a specific region.[88] Swati Datta's study of the migrant Brāhmaṇas of northern India gives a careful presentation of the details of the social organization and economic life of these Brāhmaṇas as revealed in inscriptions, as well as attempting to delineate the reasons for brahmanical migration.[89] Apart from these works which deal specifically with the Brāhmaṇas, a body of useful data concerning the emergence of Brāhmaṇas as a landed class has been collected by historians writing on the socio-economic history of early medieval India.[90]

[84]Risley, [436]; Dutt, [124]; Thurston, and Rangachari, [567]; Crooke, [83]; Bhattacharya, [55].

[85]Ghurye, [167]; Karandikar, [226]; Brough, [58], pp. 32-45; Kosambi, [245]; Kane, [224], 2, pt. 1, pp. 479-97.

[86]Upadhyay, [573]. [87]Gupta, [172]. [88]Niyogi, [339].

[89]Datta (née Sen Gupta), [99].

[90]The literature on the subject is vast. One of the important works that may be mentioned in this context is Sharma, [458]; mention may also be made of Sharma, [460].

Despite the discussion of the Brāhmaṇas in a variety of secondary works such as those mentioned above, there is much that is not known about this élite group. There is a need for detailed studies of the history of the Brāhmaṇas of various regions. Epigraphic evidence has much to offer in this respect: Brāhmaṇas formed the major beneficiaries of royal patronage throughout the ancient and early medieval periods, and a large volume of inscriptions recording this patronage provide valuable information on the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of royal grants. The study at hand examines the details regarding these Brāhmaṇas—who they were, where they came from, the branches of learning and activities they specialized in. The attempt is also to analyze the bases of Brāhmaṇa identity and to catalogue the bases of differentiation within the Brāhmaṇa community. This would provide an important complement to what the normative texts have to say about Brāhmaṇas.

Contribution of this study

The inscriptions of ancient and early medieval Orissa offer important sources for the re-examination of issues such as the relations between king and Brāhmaṇa, king and deity, and secular and sacred authority—relations that have traditionally been studied on the basis of Sanskrit texts such as the Dharmaśāstras, which are subject to the limitation inherent in normative literature, that is, they lay down precepts that are related to, and often form a basis of practice, but are not necessarily a direct reflection of the latter. This study re-examines these relations, especially that between politics and religion, in the light of the epigraphic evidence provided by royal grants. The analysis of the contents of a large number of inscriptions covering a chronological span of eight and a half centuries is intended to reveal patterns that would remain hidden in a study with a more restricted scope. The results of this study have an importance in the larger Indian context for an understanding of the nature of political systems and processes of historical change in ancient and early medieval India.

Note on translation, transliteration, and citation

This study is based on a detailed examination of the text of inscriptions, taking cognizance of variant readings and interpretations. Some of the inscriptions used for this study have been translated into English by various scholars. While I am indebted to the translations that have been made, the analysis of the inscriptions is based on my own translations, except where indicated otherwise. In general, where translations are given, the English is followed by the Sanskrit in parenthesis. However, in the case

of technical terms and titles, where the English translation is often either inadequate, clumsy or misleading, the Sanskrit original has been cited, with the translation or explanation of the term appearing either in parenthesis or in a foot-note where the term first occurs. Due to the large number of Sanskrit terms that appear in the text of this thesis, these have not been italicized.

The orthography of ancient inscriptions displays a great deal of variation, some of which reflects regional peculiarities. For instance, in the case of the Orissan inscriptions, there is usually a reduplication of the consonant after an 'r,' as well as the frequent use of 'b' for 'v.' Orthographic and grammatical errors also occur frequently. For these reasons, and in the interests of maintaining a certain uniformity in the orthography of citations, the spelling of well-known Sanskrit words, including the names of rulers, has usually been standardized in the course of citation. All other proper names, including the names of the beneficiaries of the royal grants and place-names, have been given as they occur in the text of the inscriptions. In the case of actual quotations—usually the longer ones—from the text of the inscriptions, the sections have been cited in the style of transliteration adopted in this study. Following the convention used by most works on Indian epigraphy, proper names have been capitalized in the course of citing Sanskrit passages, even when occurring in the midst of compounds. Titles of secondary works, whether articles or books, appear in their original form, with or without diacritical marks, as the case may be. Diacritical marks have not been used for modern place names, including rivers. The titles of inscriptions are usually derived from the name of the king during whose reign they were inscribed and either from the place where they were found, or, if the find-spot is unknown, from the name of the village they record the grant of. Diacritical marks for the place-names are used while citing the inscription only in the latter case. It may also be mentioned that the names of various authors of secondary works in certain cases display a surprising degree of orthographical variation; this is the reason why the name of a particular author may be spelt differently in various citations in foot-notes or in the bibliography.

The system of transliteration follows in most respects the conventions laid down in Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. 3 and followed in standard works on Indian epigraphy. A single hyphen indicates samāsa (a compound), a double hyphen indicates sandhi (euphonic combination); where both samāsa and sandhi occur, the single hyphen is used.[91] Ordinary

[91]For instance, 'a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśyaḥ;' 'yath=āsmābhir=ayam;' 'Kaliṅg-ādhipati'; 'tasya putras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ.'

brackets are used to indicate corrections and doubtful points in the text of inscriptions; square brackets for damaged or partially illegible letters, or those which though illegible, can be supplied with certainty. Square brackets containing letters or punctuation marks followed by an asterisk indicate letters or punctuation marks omitted in the original text.[92]

[92]Fleet, [137], Introduction, pp. 193-94.

Chapter I

Ancient and Early Medieval Kingdoms of Orissa: the fourth to the mid-twelfth century AD

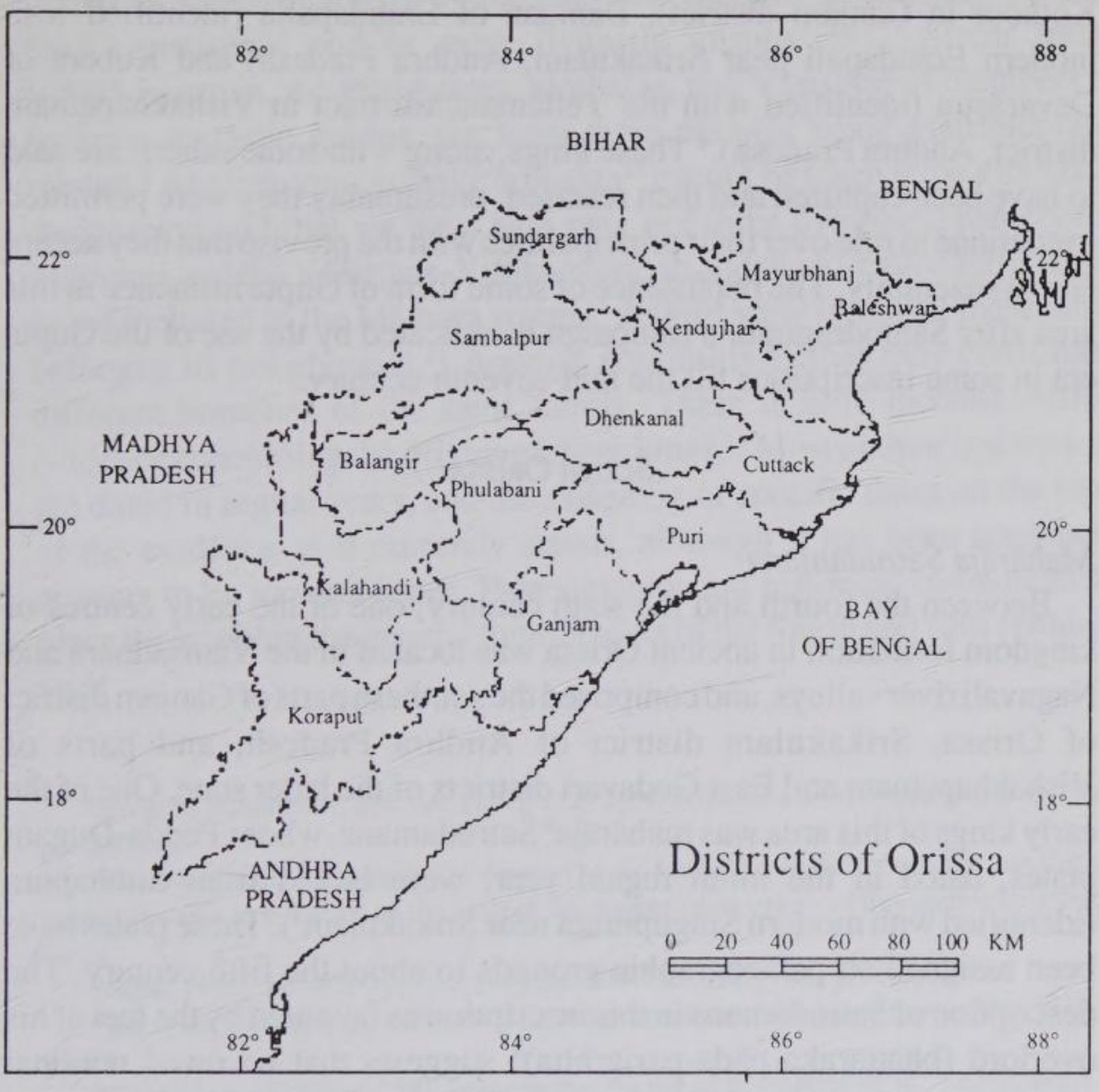
The fourth century AD marked the commencement of a sustained process of political development in Orissa. This is reflected in the availability of a large volume of royal inscriptions recording grants of land to Brāhmaṇas and religious institutions of various denominations. These royal charters form an important source for the reconstruction of political history, and the phenomenon they record appears to have played an important integrative role in the formation and stabilization of kingdoms.

This chapter presents a synoptic account of the dynasties of Orissa from the fourth century AD to the middle of the twelfth century AD. For the purpose of analysis, the data has been divided according to three rough chronological phases: Period I—the fourth to the seventh century; Period II—the seventh to the tenth century; and Period III—the tenth to the mid-twelfth century.[1] A brief history of the kings and dynasties of ancient and early medieval Orissa is presented in chronological sequence with particular reference to their antecedents, the territory under their rule, their political centres, and the titles of political import assumed by them. Lists of dynastic succession, where these have been reconstructed by various scholars, have not been given, as they do not form the focus of this study.[2] While a detailed administrative history lies beyond the scope of this particular study, the official designations and titles, fiscal terms, and levels of administrative divisions that appear in the copper plate grants are enumerated in Appendices II, III, and IV, as these provide some data on the degree of complexity of the administrative organization of these kingdoms. A series of maps included in this chapter indicate the places where the inscriptions of some of the dynasties of ancient and early medieval

[1]As mentioned in the Introduction, there is a certain amount of fluidity in this chronological scheme.

[2]On the problems involved in the reconstruction of a continuous dynastic history of ancient India and the contrived nature of some of the ventures into this field, see Henige, [183], pp. 525-49.

Orissa have been found and the political centres whence they were issued, where identifiable.



PERIOD I: THE FOURTH TO THE SEVENTH CENTURY

Gupta hegemony over Orissa

In the fourth century AD, ancient Orissa was divided into several small principalities, some of which were under Gupta domination. The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta[3] includes the following among the kings who suffered reverses at the hands of this Gupta monarch: Mahendra of Kosala (i.e. Dakṣiṇa Kosala, which comprised the modern Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur tracts of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa), Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra (which may be identified either with the Jharkhand area

[3]Fleet, [137] p. 7, ll. 19-20.

of Ganjam and Vishakhapatnam districts or with the Jeypore forest area of Orissa), Mahendragiri of Piṣṭapura (i.e. modern Pithapuram in Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh), Svāmidatta of Koṭṭura (identified with modern Kothoor in Ganjam district), Damana of Eraṇḍapalla (identified with modern Erandapali near Srikakulam, Andhra Pradesh) and Kubera of Devarāṣṭra (identified with the Yellamanchili tract in Vishakhapatnam district, Andhra Pradesh).[4] These kings, along with some others, are said to have been captured and then released; presumably they were permitted to continue to rule over their principalities with the proviso that they accept Gupta suzerainty. The persistence of some form of Gupta influence in this area after Samudragupta's campaign is indicated by the use of the Gupta era in some inscriptions till the mid-seventh century.[5]

South Orissa

Mahārāja Śatrudamana

Between the fourth and the sixth century, one of the early centres of kingdom formation in ancient Orissa was located in the Vamsadhara and Nagavali river valleys, and comprised the southern parts of Ganjam district of Orissa, Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh, and parts of Vishakhapatnam and East Godavari districts of the latter state. One of the early kings of this area was mahārāja[6] Śatrudamana, whose Pedda-Dugam plates, dated in the ninth regnal year, were issued from Siṁhapura (identified with modern Singupuram near Srikakulam[7]). These plates have been assigned on palaeographic grounds to about the fifth century. The description of Śatrudamana in this inscription as favoured by the feet of his overlord (bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-parigṛhīta)[8] suggests that he owed nominal allegience to an unnamed overlord, perhaps to a Gupta king.

[4]On the identification of these places, see Ganguly, [145], pp. 156-57.

[5]Some scholars argue that the use of the Gupta era does not indicate Gupta rule in Orissa. See, for example, Sahu, [445], pp. 433-44.

[6]Literally 'great king.' Fleet ([137], p. 10, n. 3) points out that while mahārāja was a title indicating paramount sovereignty in the coins of the Indo-Greek kings and the inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa kings Kaṇiṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva, from the Gupta period onwards it no longer had such connotations. Fleet ([137], p. 17, n. 3) has made a convincing argument for leaving such technical titles and terms untranslated.

[7]Sircar, [508], p. 90.

[8]In this particular context, the term 'bhaṭṭāraka' refers to an overlord. The epithet is also frequently applied in inscriptions to deities.

Viśākhavarman, the Pitṛbhaktas, Māṭharas, and Vāsiṣṭhas

There is controversy concerning the relationship between certain kings who were ruling in the south Ganjam-Srikakulam area in about the same period as Śatrudamana (or a little later), specifically concerning whether they constituted one or more dynastic groups. D.C. Sircar treats Viśākhavarman, the Pitṛbhaktas, Māṭharas, and Vāsiṣṭhas as members of separate dynastic groups, the latter three perhaps being matrimonially related.[9] Another view is that Pitṛbhakta[10] cannot be taken to be a dynastic designation and that we have here two, not three dynasties, namely the Māṭharas and the Vāsiṣṭhas, Viśākhavarman and the so-called Pitṛbhaktas being included in the Māṭhara group.[11] A third view is that all these kings belonged to one dynasty.[12] Another possibility is that they constituted different branches of the same family. There is little incontrovertible evidence concerning the origins of these kings.[13] Most of their inscriptions are dated in regnal years, and the assigning of specific dates on the basis of the evidence as it currently stands, although it has been attempted, appears to be too ambitious. Palaeography and historical considerations place them within the general time-bracket of the fourth and fifth centuries AD.[14]

[9]Sircar in Majumdar, gen. ed., [287], 3: 212-14. For a similar view see Ganguly, [145], pp. 220-28.

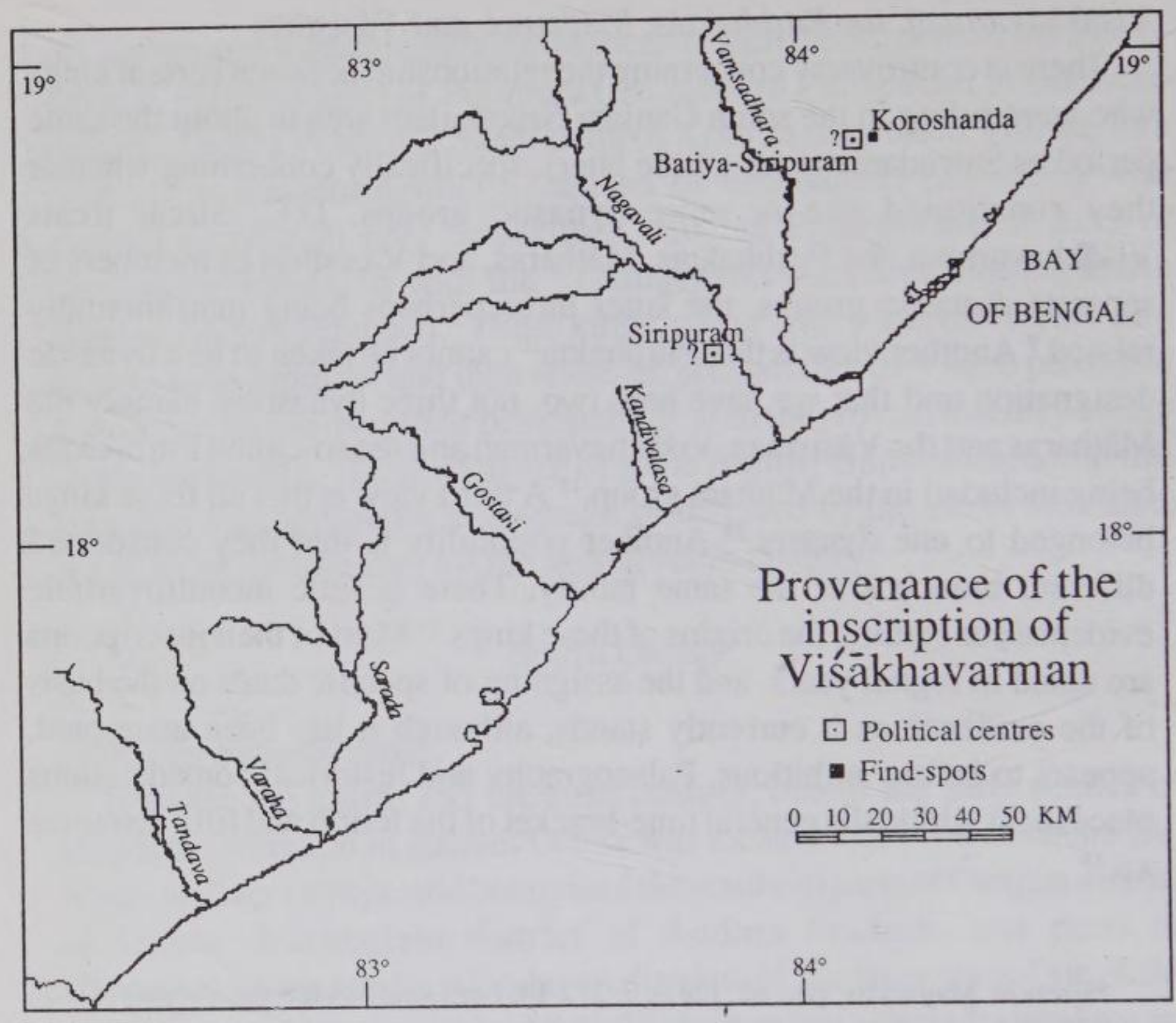
[10]The designation 'Pitṛbhakta' ('devoted to the father') is derived from the fact that this epithet appears as a legend on the seals of the copper-plate grants of this particular group of kings.

[11]Sahu, [445], pp. 468-70; Das, [89], pp. 100-105; Panigrahi, [358], p. 46.

[12]Rajaguru, [404], 1, pt. 2: 68-69. Another proponent of the same view is Das, [91], pp. 93-94.

[13]Krishnarao, ([253], p. 138), suggests that the use of the matronymic 'Vāsiṣṭhīputra' by Śaktivarman in the Ragolu plates indicates that he was a descendent of the imperial Āndhras and the Ikṣvākus who also used matronymics, but at the same time admits that this need not necessarily have been so. Behera, ([48], pp. 57-58), cites a legend that occurs in the Chinese version of the *Dharma-piṭaka-nidāna-sūtra*, described by Sylvain Lévi in the *Journal Asiatique*, July-December, 1896: 444-84, and suggests that the Māṭhara kings of Orissa may have been descendents of a minister of Kaṇiṣka named Māṭhara. Sircar (in Majumdar, gen. ed., [287], 3: 212), has suggested that the name of the Pitṛbhakta king Nandaprabhañjanavarman may suggest that he was related to the Nanda family. All these suggestions remain highly speculative. It may be noted that Māṭhara is the name of a gotra (Brough, [59], pp. 154, 163), and the Māṭhara kings may have been so-called because of their gotra affiliation. This may suggest that they were Brāhmaṇas, although the use of gotras by non-Brāhmaṇas is not unknown (see chapter III on this).

[14]There is a reference in the Kudopali plates of the Somavaṁśī king Mahābhavagupta II to a later Māṭhara king named Puñja who was a feudatory of the Somavaṁśīs (Kielhorn, [233], p. 258, ll. 7-9); his relationship with the early Māṭharas is not clear.

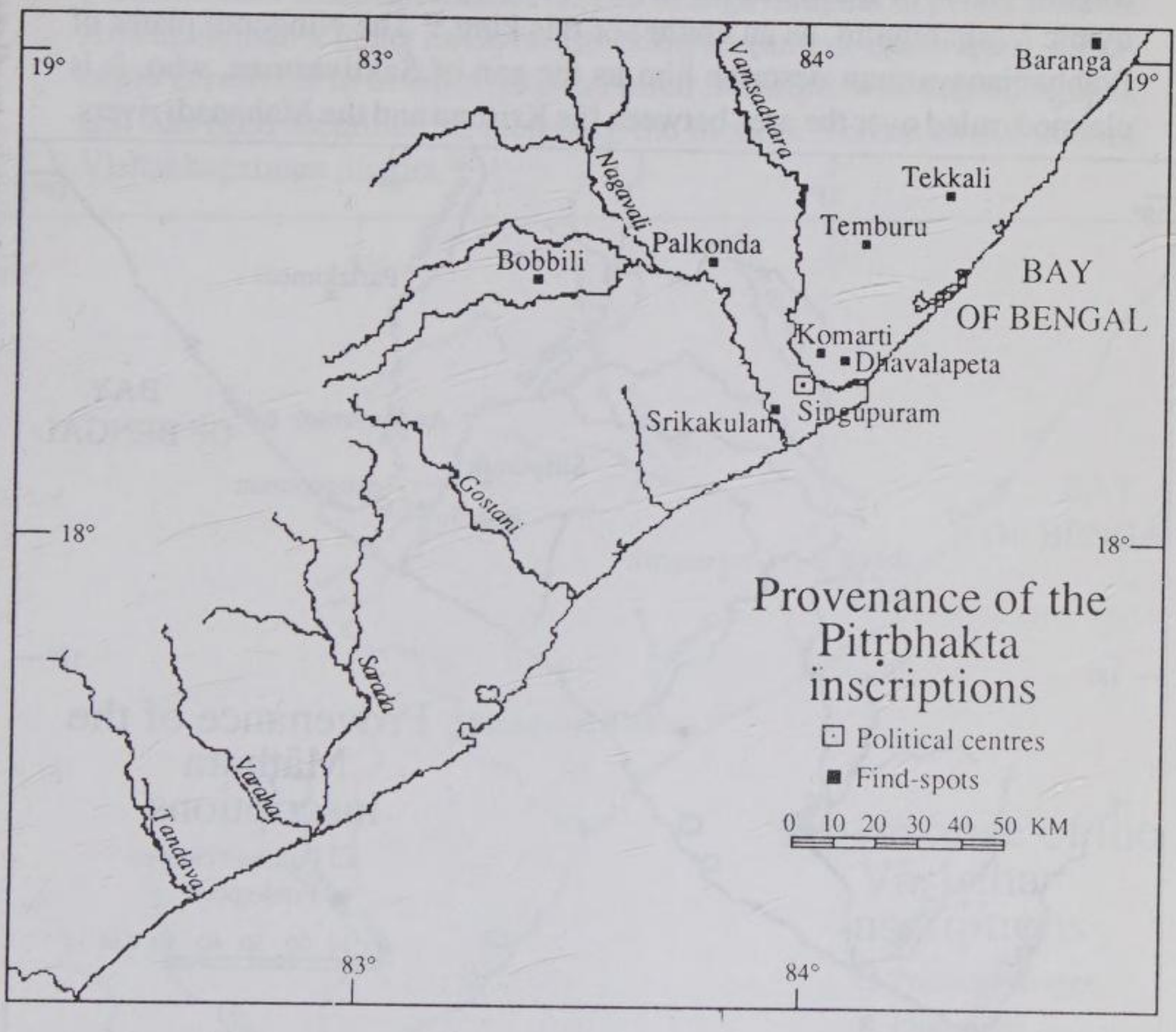


Several among this group of kings claimed sovereignty over Kaliṅga, which, in this period, denoted parts of Ganjam, Srikakulam, Vishakhapatnam, and E. Godavari districts.[15] The inscriptions of Viśākhavarman, the Pitṛbhaktas, Māṭharas and Vāsiṣṭhas reveal the existence of a multiplicity of political centres in Kaliṅga during the fourth and fifth centuries. The Koroshanda plates of mahārāja Viśākhavarman were issued from Śrīpura (identified by Ramdas with Siripuram in Vishakhapatnam district and by Rajaguru with Batiya-Siripura, within a mile from the findspot Koroshanda in Ganjam district[16]).

The inscriptions of the Pitṛbhaktas have been found in Ganjam and Srikakulam districts. They were issued variously from Sunagara, Varddhamānapura (identified with Vadama in the Palkonda taluk[17]), Siṁhapura (identified with Singupuram in Srikakulam district[18]), and Sārapalli (identified with Saripalle in Vishakhapatnam district[19]). The title

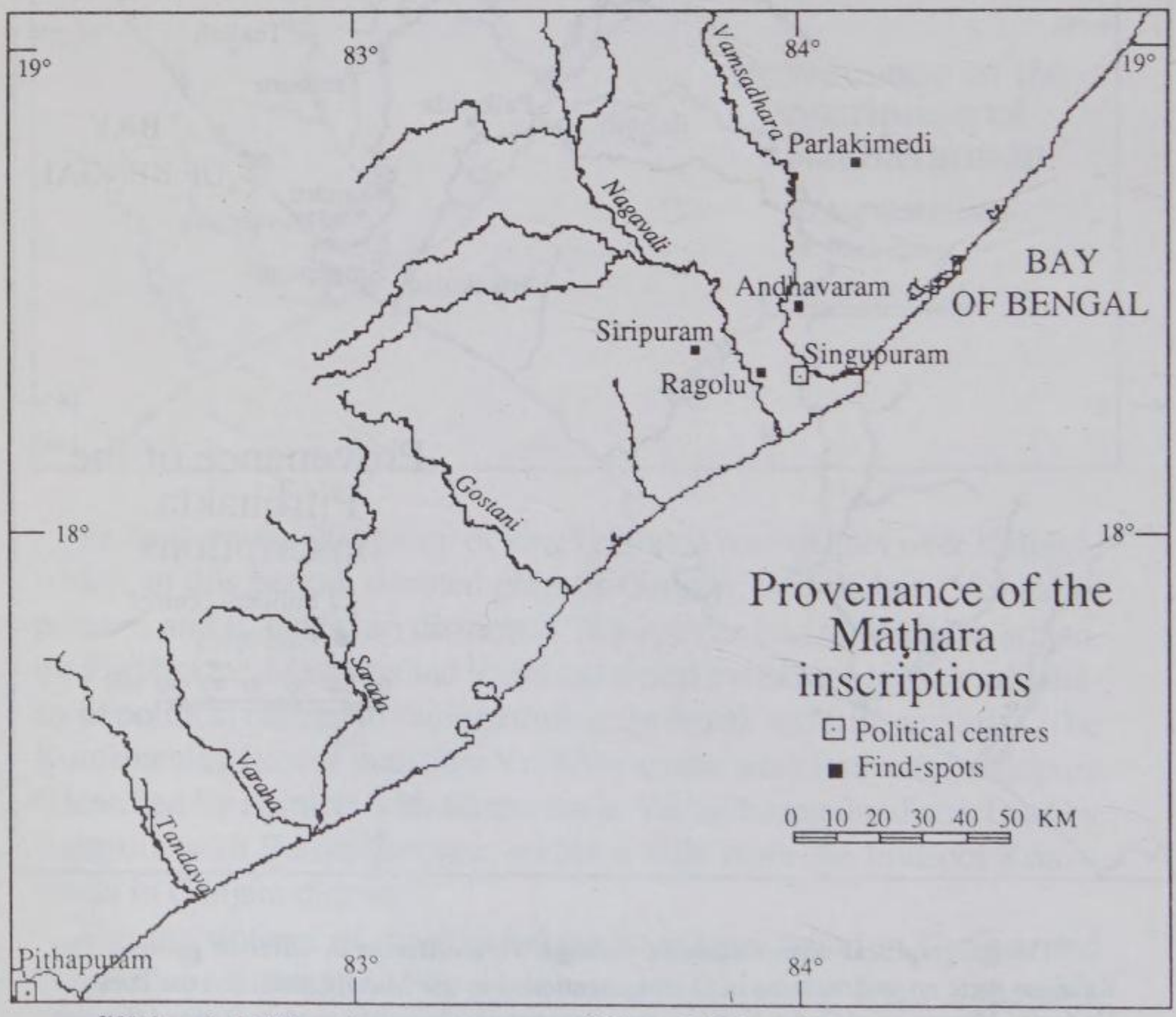
[15]Ganguly, [145], p. 9. [16]Ramdas, [419], p. 24; Rajaguru, [404], 1, pt. 2, p. 3.
[17]Krishnamacharlu, *ARSIE*, 1934-35, pt. 2, para 2.
[18]Hultzsch, [194], p. 4. [19]Venkataramayya, [576], p. 301.

mahārāja in the Baranga, Tekkali, and Dhavalapeta plates of Umavarman is supplemented with Kaliṅg-ādhipati (lord of Kaliṅga) in the Bṛhatproṣṭhā and Temburu plates (dated respectively in Umavarman's thirtieth and fortieth regnal years).[20] The use of this title is continued in the Bobbili and Komarti plates of Caṇḍavarman, and in the amplified form of sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhipati (lord of all Kaliṅga) in the Chicacole and Baranga plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman.



[20]The geographical connotations of Kaliṅga were different in different periods. The Kaliṅgas were an ancient tribe of Orissa, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, and the Purāṇas. Under the Mauryas and Cedis, Kaliṅga appears to have included the modern Puri and Ganjam areas. In the early historical period, the northern boundary of the Kaliṅga country was placed by some sources at the Vaitarani river, while the Godavari or Krishna rivers seem to have been considered as its southern boundary. The term was used in a more restricted sense in the inscriptions of the period being considered here, including within its purview the Ganjam and Srikakulam area. After the rise to power of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara towards the end of the fifth century, the term Kaliṅga came to be used exclusively for the kingdom of these Gaṅga kings (Sircar, [518], pp. 167-69).

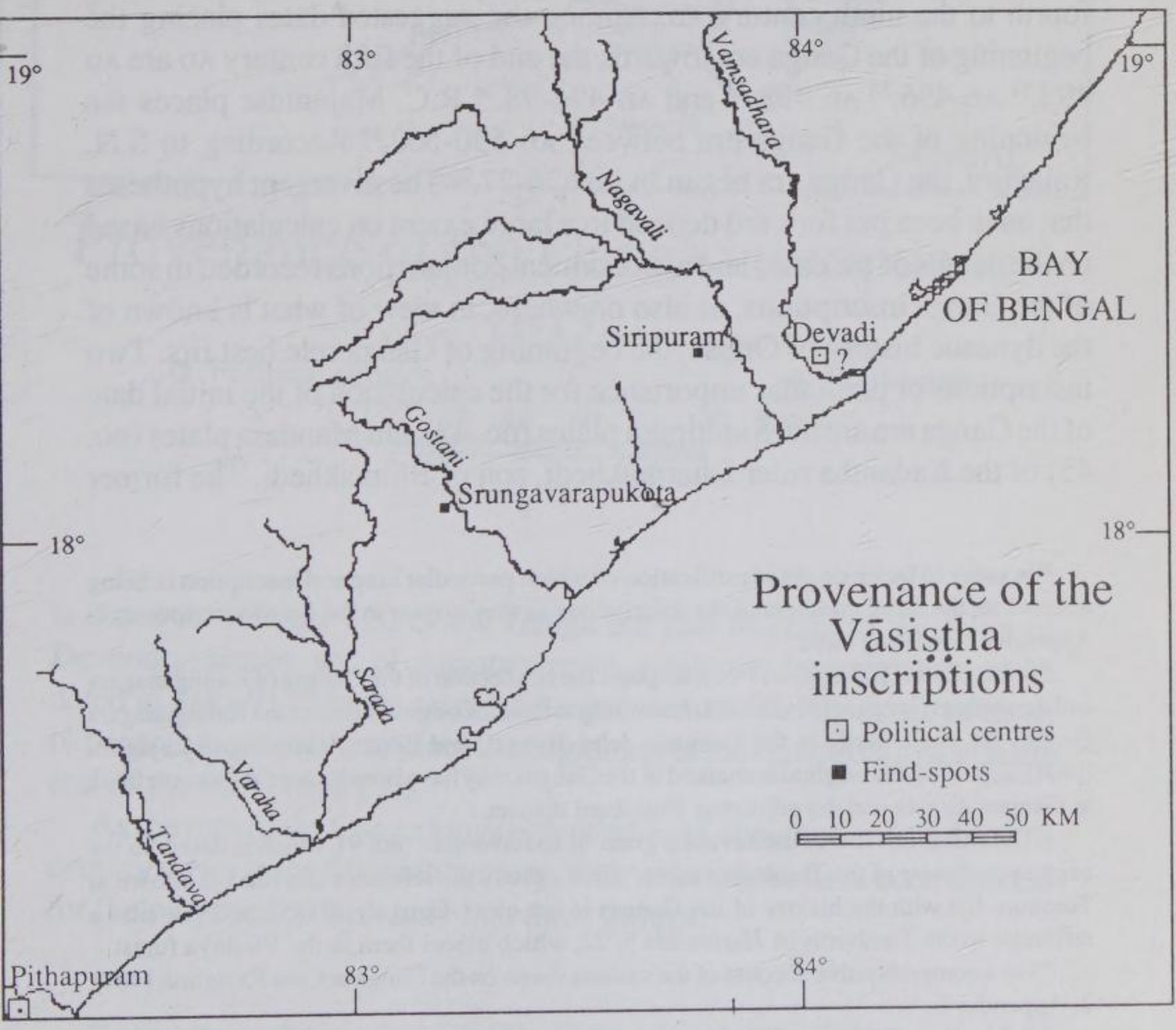
The provenance of the inscriptions of the Māṭhara kings is south Ganjam and Srikakulam districts. The places whence the inscriptions of these kings were issued are Piṣṭapura (identified with Pithapuram in Godavari district[21]), Siṁhapura (identified with Singupuram[22]), and Vijayapura. All the Māṭhara kings—Śaktivarman, Prabhañjanavarman, and Anantaśaktivarman—claimed the titles of mahārāja and Kaliṅg-ādhipati (sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhipati in the case of Prabhañjanavarman). The Ragolu plates of Śaktivarman are noteworthy for the use of the matronymic Vāsiṣṭhīputra as an epithet of this king.[23] The Ningondi plates of Prabhañjanavarman describe him as the son of Śaktivarman, who, it is claimed, ruled over the area between the Krishna and the Mahanadi rivers.



[21]Hultzsch, [199], p. 2. [22]Sircar, [508], p. 90.

[23]According to Brough ([59], p. xv), the matrilineal descent of a gotra name seems incredible. He cites the case of Mahāprajāpati Gotamī, the step-mother and mother's sister of the Buddha (who was himself a Gautama), and suggests that in view of the fact that marriage within the gotra is prohibited, the best explanation seems to be that Mahāprajāpati took the name 'Gautamī' as a kind of surname on her marriage into the clan. However, the names of some Sātavāhana kings (Gautamīputra Sātakarnī and his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi) do seem to indicate the matrilineal descent of gotra names.

The two inscriptions of Anantavarman, found in Srikakulam and Vishakhapatnam districts, refer him to the Vāsiṣṭha family (kula), endow him with the title of Kaliṅg-ādhipati, and describe him as the son of mahārāja Guṇavarman and the grandson of mahārāja Prabhañjanavarman. The Siripuram plates were issued from Devapura (which may be identified either with Devada in Srungavarapukota taluk of Vishakhapatnam district or with Devadi in Srikakulam taluk in Srikakulam district[24]) and the Srungavarapukota plates from Piṣṭapura (identified with modern Pithapuram in East Godavari district[25]). The Srungavarapukota plates describe Anantavarman's father as Devarāṣṭr-ādhipati (lord of Devarāṣṭra). Devarāṣtra is referred to in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, and has been identified as including the modern Yellamanchili tract of Vishakhapatnam district.[26]



[24]Srinivasa Rao, [550], p. 50.

[25]Majumdar, [281], pp. 57-58.

[26]Jouveau-Dubreuil, [223], p. 60.

The early Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara: Indravarman I-Indravarman IV (inscriptions no. 1-13)[27]

The end of the fifth century AD saw the rise to power of the eastern Gaṅgas in south Kaliṅga. Later references in the Korni and Vizagapatnam grants of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga indicate that the Gaṅgas were migrants from the Karnataka area.[28] Almost all of the earlier grants (nos. 1-40) of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara are dated in an era specifically referred to in some of them as the Gaṅga or Gāṅgeya era, while the later ones (from the Mandasa plates of Anantavarman—no. 45—onwards) are generally dated in the Śaka era of AD 78.[29]

There is a great deal of controversy surrounding the initial date of the Gaṅga era and hence the beginning of Gaṅga rule.[30] The dates that have been suggested for the commencement of the Gaṅga era range from the fourth to the ninth century AD. Among the suggested dates placing the beginning of the Gaṅga era towards the end of the fifth century AD are AD 493,[31] AD 496,[32] AD 498,[33] and AD 496-98.[34] R.C. Majumdar places the beginning of the Gaṅga era between AD 530-560.[35] According to S.N. Rajaguru, the Gaṅga era began in AD 626-27.[36] The divergent hypotheses that have been put forward depend to a large extent on calculations based on the details of the dates and astronomical conjunctions recorded in some of the Gaṅga inscriptions, as also on where, in view of what is known of the dynastic history of Orissa, the beginning of Gaṅga rule best fits. Two inscriptions of particular importance for the calculation of the initial date of the Gaṅga era are the Simhipura plates (no. 43) and Mandasa plates (no. 45) of the Kadamba ruler Dharmakheḍi, son of Bhīmakheḍi. The former

[27]In order to facilitate the identification of which particular king and inscription is being referred to, the serial numbers of the inscriptions as they appear in the list of inscriptions in Appendix I are being cited.

[28]Subba Rao, ([558], pp. 264-65), disputes the connection of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara and the western Gaṅgas of Karnataka. According to him, the original home of the Kaliṅganagara Gaṅgas lay in the north, in the Gangetic delta, Bengal, and Bihar. According to Rajaguru ([404], 2, p. 345), the original homeland of the Gaṅgas may have been located in Gumsur taluk in Ganjam district and the adjoining Phulabani district.

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[30]For a comprehensive account of the various views on the Gaṅga era, see Rajaguru, [404], 2, Appendix I.

[31]Subba Rao, [557], pp. 200-04.

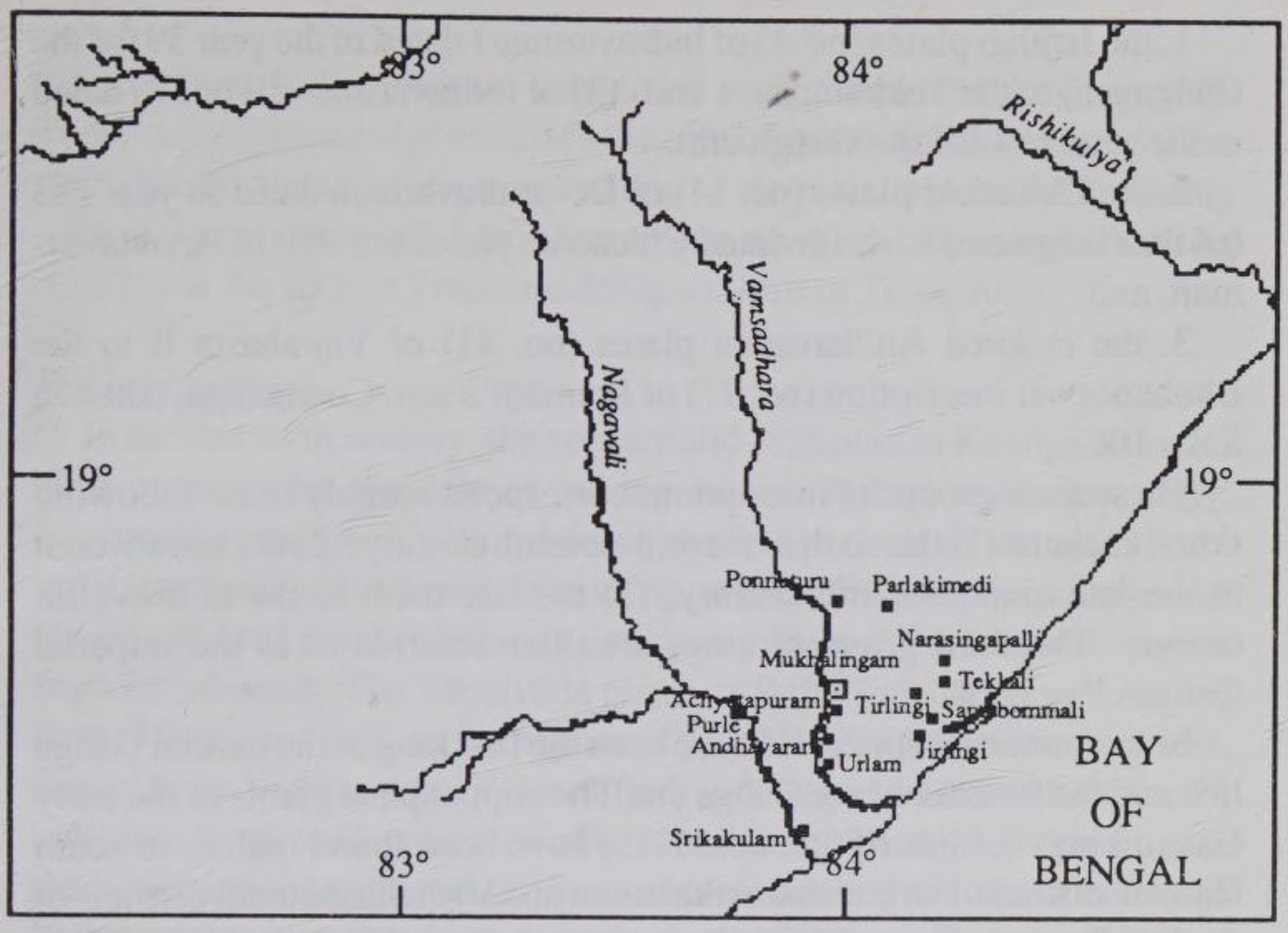
[32]Ghosh, [151], pp. 237-38.

[33]Mirashi, [297], pp. 326-36.

[34]Sircar, [487], p. 291.

[35]Majumdar, [278], p. 47.

[36]Rajaguru, [383], pt. 1, p. 23.



Provenance of the Gaṅga inscriptions (1-13)

▫ Political centres ▪ Find-spots

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is dated in the year 520 of the Gaṅga era and belongs to the reign of Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman, while the latter appears to be dated in Śaka 917[37] in the reign of Anantavarman. The evidence of these two inscriptions seems to place the beginning of the Gaṅga era towards the end of the fifth century AD.

As the rule of the Gaṅga kings extended from about the end of the fifth century down to the fifteenth century, their inscriptions have been divided for the purposes of this study into three groups:

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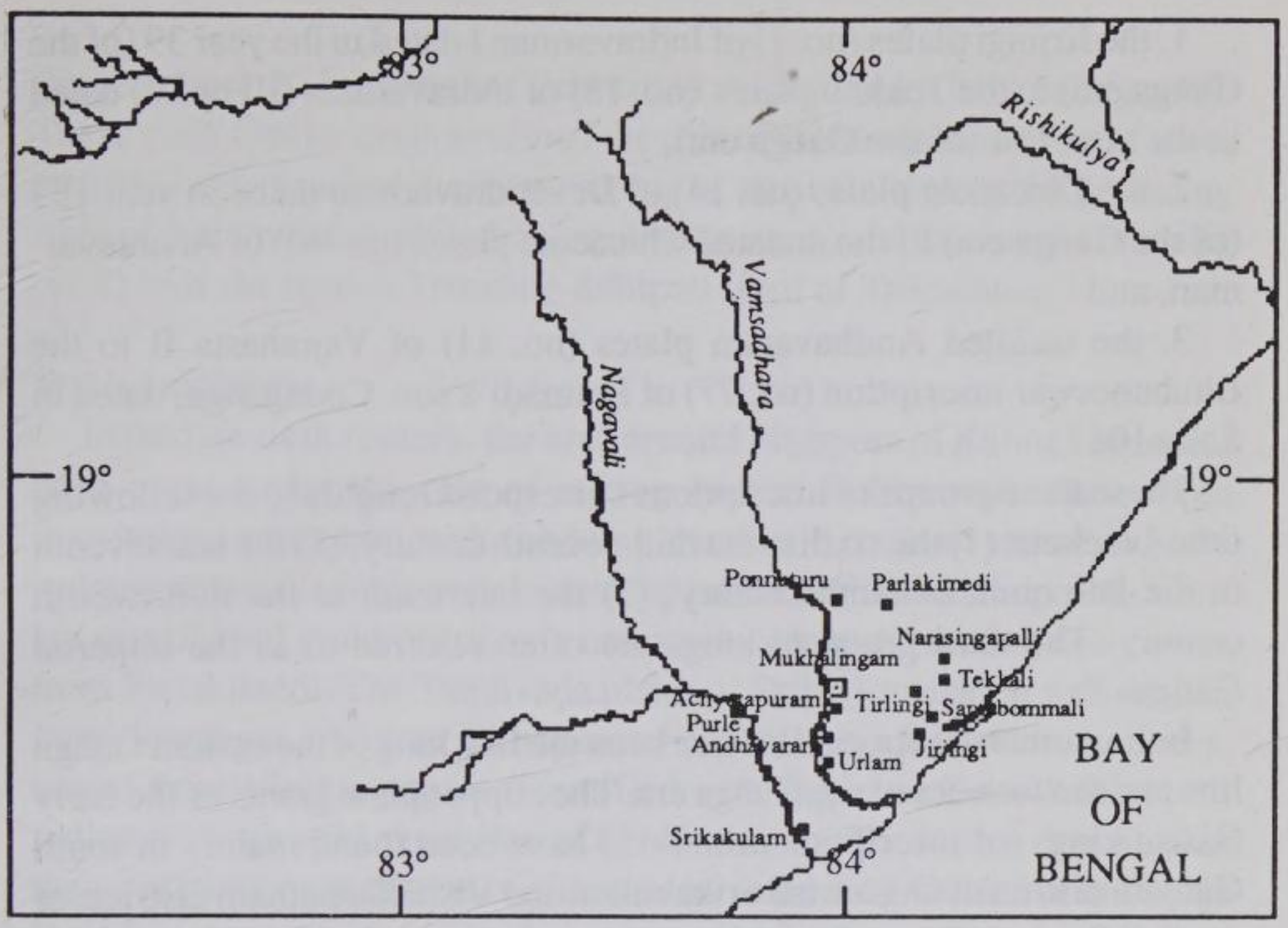

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1. the Jirjingi plates (no. 1) of Indravarman I dated in the year 39 (of the Gaṅga era) to the Tekkali plates (no. 13) of Indravarman (III or IV) dated in the year 154 (of the Gaṅga era),

2. the Chicacole plates (no. 14) of Devendravarman dated in year 183 (of the Gaṅga era) to the undated Chicacole plates (no. 40) of Anantavarman, and

3. the undated Andhavaram plates (no. 41) of Vajrahasta II to the Bhubaneswar inscription (no. 77) of Pramāḍi's son, Coḍagaṅga, dated in Śaka 1067.

These three groups of inscriptions correspond roughly to the following time-brackets: (1) the sixth to the mid-seventh century; (2) the late seventh to the late ninth or tenth century; (3) the late tenth to the mid-twelfth century. The third group of kings are often referred to as the imperial Gaṅgas.[38]

Indravarman (I) appears to have been the first king of the eastern Gaṅga line and the founder of the Gaṅga era. The copper plate grants of the early Gaṅga kings (of inscription nos. 1-13) have been found mainly in south Ganjam district of Orissa and Srikakulam and Vishakhapatnam districts of Andhra Pradesh. Two of the thirteen grants (nos. 1, 12) of the kings of this group were issued from Dantapura,[39] one (no. 2) from Saumyavana, and

[38]The status of the kings of inscriptions no. 41-45—Vajrahasta (II), Devendravarman, and Madhu-Kāvāṃavadeva—*vis-à-vis* the Gaṅga chronology is not certain. Sircar, ([503], pp. 54-55), has questioned whether Devendravarman (of inscriptions no. 43 and 54) belongs to the Kaliṅganagara branch of the Gaṅga kings. As for Vajrahasta II and Madhu-Kāvāṃavadeva (of inscription. nos. 42 and 44), it has been suggested by Sircar (in Majumdar, gen. ed., [287], 4: 143-44) that they may be the ancestors of Vajrahasta III of the imperial Gaṅga line. This hypothesis remains to be conclusively proved. However this issue may eventually be settled does not materially affect the conclusions of this study, as the inscriptions of these kings (nos. 41-45), fit into the same bracket of the chronological framework adopted in this study as do the imperial Gaṅga grants. It should also be noted that the Devendravarman of inscriptions nos. 59 and 60 is another problem, as it is not clear how or where he fits into the Gaṅga genealogy.

[39]The identification of Dantapura is controversial. It has been variously identified with Rajahmundry on the Godavari river, a place near Srikakulam, Dantan on the Kasai river, Dantapura fort on the southern bank of the Vamsadhara river (three miles from the Chicacole Road Station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway), the site of Dantavaktra fort near Siddhantam, a place on the old route from Malud near Chilka lake, and Jagannāth Puri. Sylvain Lévi, who proposed a location near Srikakulam, identified Dantapura with the 'Paloura' of Ptolemy's *Geography* ([267], pp. 94-98). Dantapura is referred to frequently in Buddhist texts, and according to Buddhist tradition, was the site where the left canine tooth of the Buddha, later taken to Ceylon, was enshrined in a stūpa. For a discussion of some of the theories on the identification of Dantapura, see Ghoshal, [159], pp. 285-86; Ganguly, [145], pp. 25-27; Sahu, [445], p. 87.

the rest from Kaliṅganagara (identified with modern Mukhalingam[40]). These early Gaṅga kings assumed the title of mahārāja and most of them claim to have acquired the overlordship of all of Kaliṅga by the quivering edge of their own sword; Indravarman I (in no. 1) and Sāmantavarman (in no. 2) bear the epithet Trikaliṅg-ādhipati (lord of Trikaliṅga).[41]

Pṛthivī-mahārāja

In the late sixth century, the area around Piṣṭapura in Kaliṅga seems to have come under the rule of a king named Pṛthivī-mahārāja, whose inscriptions credit him with subduing the whole circle of sāmantas (subordinate rulers) with his ever-increasing prowess.[42] The find-spot of one of his sets of land grant charters is unknown, while the second one comes from Parlakimedi. The Tāṇḍivāḍa plates of Pṛthivī-mahārāja were issued from Piṣṭapura (modern Pithapuram[43]), while his Parlakimedi plates, issued from Virañja-nagara (identified with Jajpur in Cuttack district[44]) indicate a northward expansion of his dominions. The king is described in these inscriptions as the son of Vikramendra and the grandson of mahārāja Raṇadurjaya, and is said to belong to the Śrīrama-kāśyapa or Rama-kaśyapa gotra.[45] It has been suggested that the predecessors of Pṛthivī-mahārāja may have been subordinates of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.[46]

[40]The identification of Kaliṅganagara with modern Mukhalingam, about twenty miles from Parlakimedi, on the left bank of the Vamsadhara river, was suggested by Ramamurti ([418], pp. 187-88). Ramamurti refuted the identification of Kaliṅganagara with Kalingapatam, which was proposed by Fleet ([135], p. 132). He suggested that the ancient capital of Kaliṅga is represented by the site covered by Mukhalingam and the adjacent village of Nagarakatakam, an area where numerous ancient remains have been found.

[41]The meaning of the geographical term Trikaliṅga is controversial. One of the various theories put forward in this context is that it comprised Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda, and Utkala. Another suggestion is that Trikaliṅga comprised the area from the Ganga to the Godavari rivers. According to Sircar (in Majumdar, gen. ed., [287], 3: 215), references in Cālukyan inscriptions suggest that Trikaliṅga denoted the forested area beween the kingdom of the later eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgi and that of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara, and was probably located south of Dakṣiṇa Kosala, not far from Mahendragiri. For a summary of the various identifications of Trikaliṅga, see Ganguly, [145], pp. 14-17.

[42]The changing connotations of the term sāmanta have been discussed by Gopal ([170]). Gopal points out that in derivation, sāmanta is an adjective meaning 'neighbouring,' or 'bordering.' In the Smṛti texts, the term sāmanta is used to refer to neighbouring villagers. Towards the end of the fifth century AD, while continuing to be used in this sense, the term sāmanta also came to be used in inscriptions to denote a subordinate ruler.

[43]Panchamukhi, [342], p. 97. [44]Rajaguru, [404], 1, pt. 2, p.65.

[45]While Kāśyapa is a gotra, neither Śrīrama-kāśyapa nor Rama-kaśyapa appear in gotra lists. (On gotra as a brahmanical institution, see chap. III).

[46]Panchamukhi, [342] p. 95; Venkataramanayya, [574], p. 191. Durjaya/Raṇadurjaya is a name that is encountered in several inscriptions belonging to the period between the

Charamparāja of the Khandipada Nuapalli plates

An inscription found near Khandipada Nuapalli village in Khallikota taluk in Ganjam district records an endowment made by Śrī Charamparāja.[47] The plates, assigned on palaeographic grounds to about the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century AD, were issued from Koṅgoda.[48]

North and Central Orissa

Mahārāja Śatrubhañja

A thirteen-line inscription inscribed below an image of Śiva found in Asanapat village in Kendujhar district has been tentatively assigned to the third or fourth century.[49] The inscription is one of Mahārāja Śatrubhañja, the ruler of a kingdom called Vindhyāṭavī. He is described in the praśasti as one born in the Nāga family, as the son of Mahārāja Mānabhañja and mahādevī Damyanti, and as having the Sapisa (?) gotra. These details make it difficult to associate Śatrubhañja of the Asanapat inscription with any of the later groups of Bhañja kings.

Mahārāja Diśābhañja

Another inscription from Kendujhar district that may possibly belong to about the fourth century is the Sitabhinji inscription of mahārāja Diśābhañja. The inscription is painted below a tempera painting depicting a royal procession, in a rock shelter locally known as Rāvaṇa-chāyā. The text is rather brief; only the name of the king can be made out, a few letters below being undecipherable. The date of this inscription is, however, controversial. T. N. Ramachandran assigns it and the king it refers to the fourth century, whereas according to D.C. Sircar, its palaeography is not earlier than the eighth or ninth century.[50] Sircar suggests that Diśābhañja

eleventh and the thirteenth century. Panchamukhi ([342], pp. 96-97) suggests that it is likely that Raṇadurjaya belonged to the Coḷa family.

[47]The honorific 'Śrī' is frequently prefixed to the names of persons, deities, and places. Depending on the context, it may be translated as illustrious, glorious, venerable, sacred, famous, etc. (see Fleet, [137], p. 10, n. 4).

[48]Koṅgoda as a geographic term or an administrative unit ('Koṅgoda maṇḍala') appears to have comprised modern Ganjam and Puri districts and the southern parts of Cuttack district (Ganguly, [145], p. 46). Koṅgoda also appears as the capital of the Śailodbhava kingdom, and it is in this sense of a specific place name that it appears to have been used in the Khandipada Nuapalli plates.

[49]Das, [87], pp. 1-8.

[50]Ramachandran, [408], p. 8; Sircar, [524], pp. 47-49.

of the Sitabhinji inscription may have been a king of the early Bhañja family of Khiñjali maṇḍala, perhaps a son of Raṇabhañja and an elder brother of Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa I (who was probably the last Bhañja king ruling from Dhṛtipura).[51]

Mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra

An inscription found in Jayarampur village in Baleshwar district and assigned to the fifth or sixth century on palaeographic grounds refers itself to the reign of a ruler named Gopacandra. Dated in the first regnal year of Gopacandra, it records an endowment of a village, probably in Daṇḍabhukti,[52] made by Śrī Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Acyuta, a feudatory of mahārājādhirāja[53] Śrī Gopacandra. The latter is eulogized in the praśasti and is described as the son of Dhanacandra and Śrīgiridevī.

The Vigrahas

Epigraphic evidence from north and central Orissa indicates the persistence of some form of Gupta suzerainty in the area after the decline of the Gupta empire in northern India around the middle of the sixth century. The donor of the Sumandala plates was Mahārāja Dharmarāja, a descendent of Mahārāja Ubhaya, and born of Va(Ba)ppadevī. Dharmarāja is described as meditating on the feet of, i.e. as a feudatory of, Pṛthivīvigraha-bhaṭṭāraka, the ruler of Kaliṅga-rāṣṭra, and his inscription is dated in the year 250 when the Gupta rājya (empire) was still existing (i.e. in AD 569-70).[54] Another king who seems to have belonged to the same family as Pṛthivīvigraha was Lokavigraha, whose Kanas plate, dated in the Gupta year 280 (i.e. AD 599-60), describes him as ruling in Tosalī comprising the

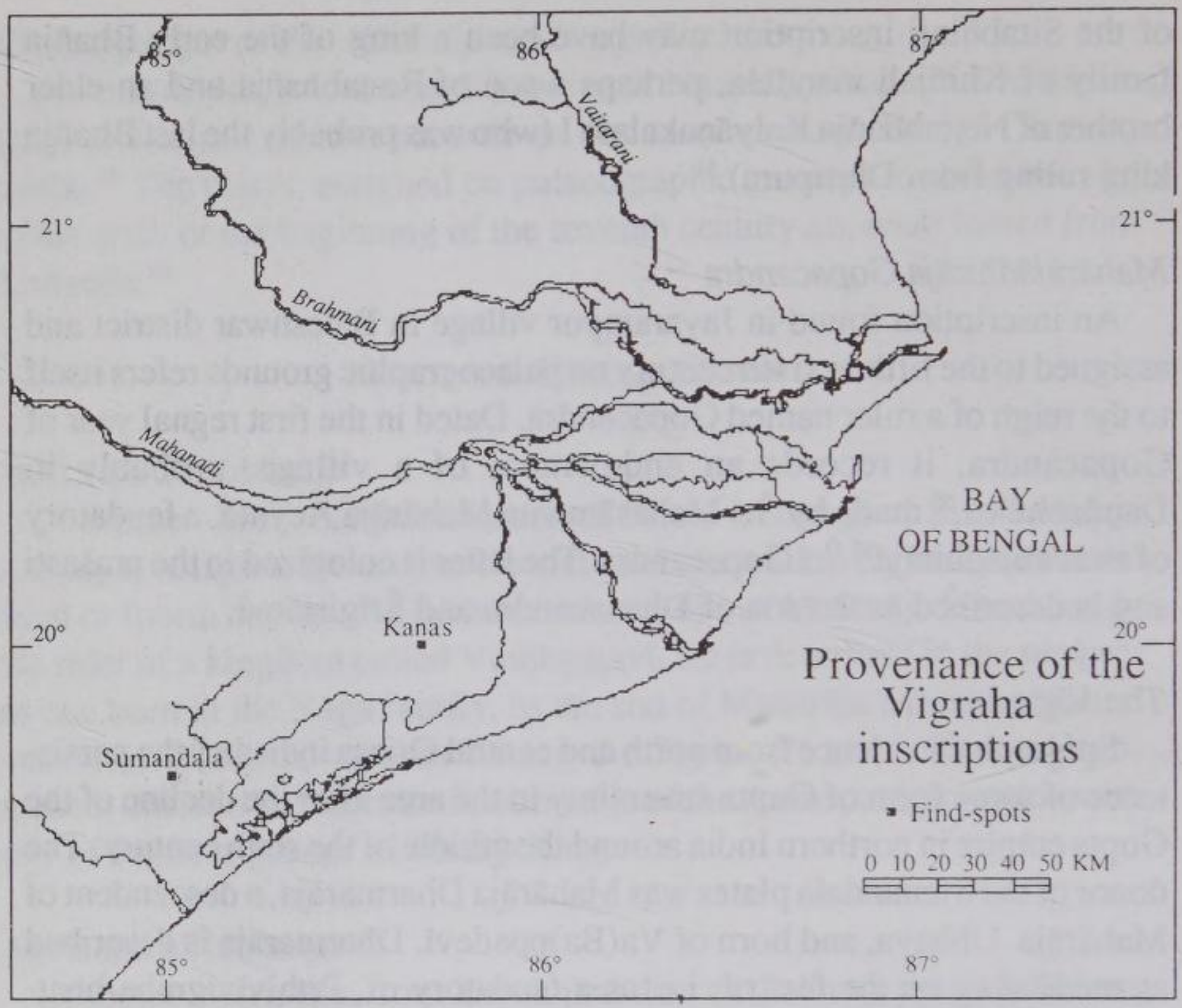
[51]Sircar, [524], p. 50. See also Sircar, [474], p. 228.

[52]Daṇḍabhukti appears to have comprised the southern part of Medinipur district of Bengal and Baleshwar district of Orissa (Majumdar, [285], p. 3).

[53]Literally, 'supreme king of great kings,' and a title of political paramountcy, from the Gupta period onwards, the title mahārājādhirāja was often accompanied by two other titles—parameśvara (supreme lord) and parama-bhaṭṭāraka (one supremely entitled to reverence). See Fleet, [137], p. 10, n. 3; 17, n. 3.

[54]The initial current year of the Gupta era was AD 319-20 (Fleet, [137], p. 127). The era probably marked Candragupta I's accession to the throne (Raychaudhuri, [432], p. 530).

The hypothesis of Gupta suzerainty over Orissa is contested by some scholars such as Rath ([425], pp. 55-56). According to Rath, the Vigrahas could not have been feudatories of the Guptas because the Gupta empire had ceased to exist by this time; further, the Gupta era, like the Śaka era, was in use long after the rule of the dynasty it was associated with had ended. Rath suggests that the use of the Gupta era indicates the cultural rather than political domination of the Guptas over parts of Orissa in this period.



eighteen forest states.[55] Sumandala, the find-spot of Pṛthivīvigraha's grant, is located in Ganjam district, while Lokavigraha's plate was secured from a maṭha at Kanas village, situated about ten miles away from the Delang station of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in Puri district. The Sumandala plates were issued from Padmakholī (identified with Padmakhol near Narayankhol in the ex-Khallikot State[56]), which seems to have been the

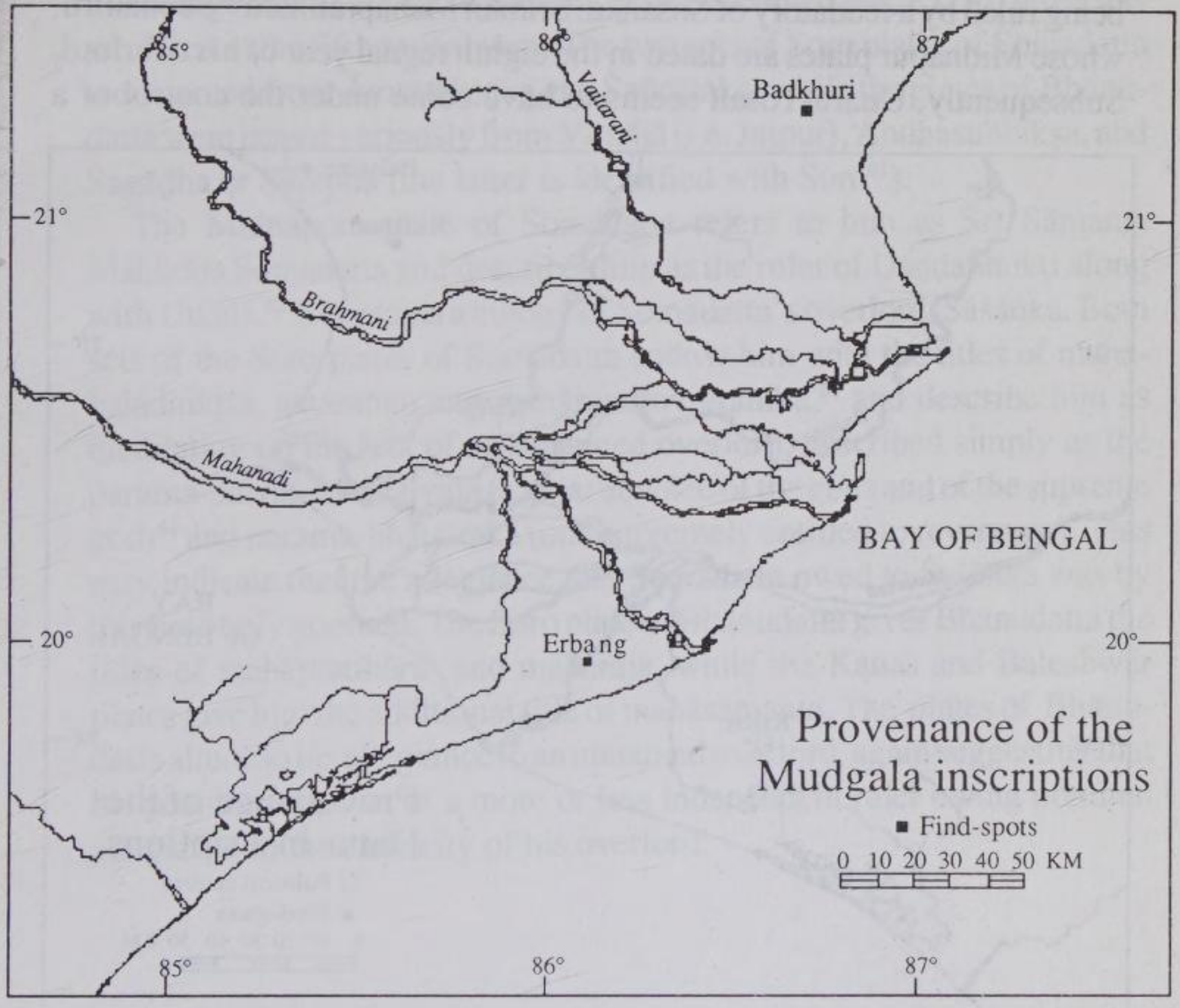
[55]While in the Separate Rock Edicts of Aśoka, Tosalī (identified with Dhauli in Puri district) appears as the name of a city in Kaliṅga which formed one of the headquarters of the Aśokan administration, in the inscriptions of the later period it had wider geographical connotations. According to Sircar ([536], p. 330), soon after the establishing of the kingdom of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (towards the end of the fifth century) the term Tosalī came to be used for the area that had hitherto formed north Kaliṅga. Tosalī included Utkala as well and hence often extended northeast into the western portion of Midnapore (Medinipur) district of Bengal and south-west into the eastern fringes of Ganjam district. Uttara-Tosalī corresponded roughly to Utkala and comprised modern Balasore (Baleshwar) district along with parts of Cuttack and Midnapore (Midinipur) districts. Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī, corresponding roughly to the ancient geographical division of north Kaliṅga, included within its purview modern Puri district along with parts of Cuttack and Ganjam districts.

[56]Sircar, [521], p. 84.

name of the kingdom as well as the capital of Dharmarāja. The Kanas plate was issued from Uṭida or Muṭida viṣaya in Dakṣiṇa Tosalī.

The Mudgalas/Mānas

Vigraha rule in Tosalī appears to have been followed by that of a king named mahārāja Śambhuyaśas who belonged to the Mudgala or Maudgala family (kula), and, according to the testimony of the Patiakella plate of Śambhuyaśas, to the Māna lineage (vaṁśa).[57] Śambhuyaśas is known from



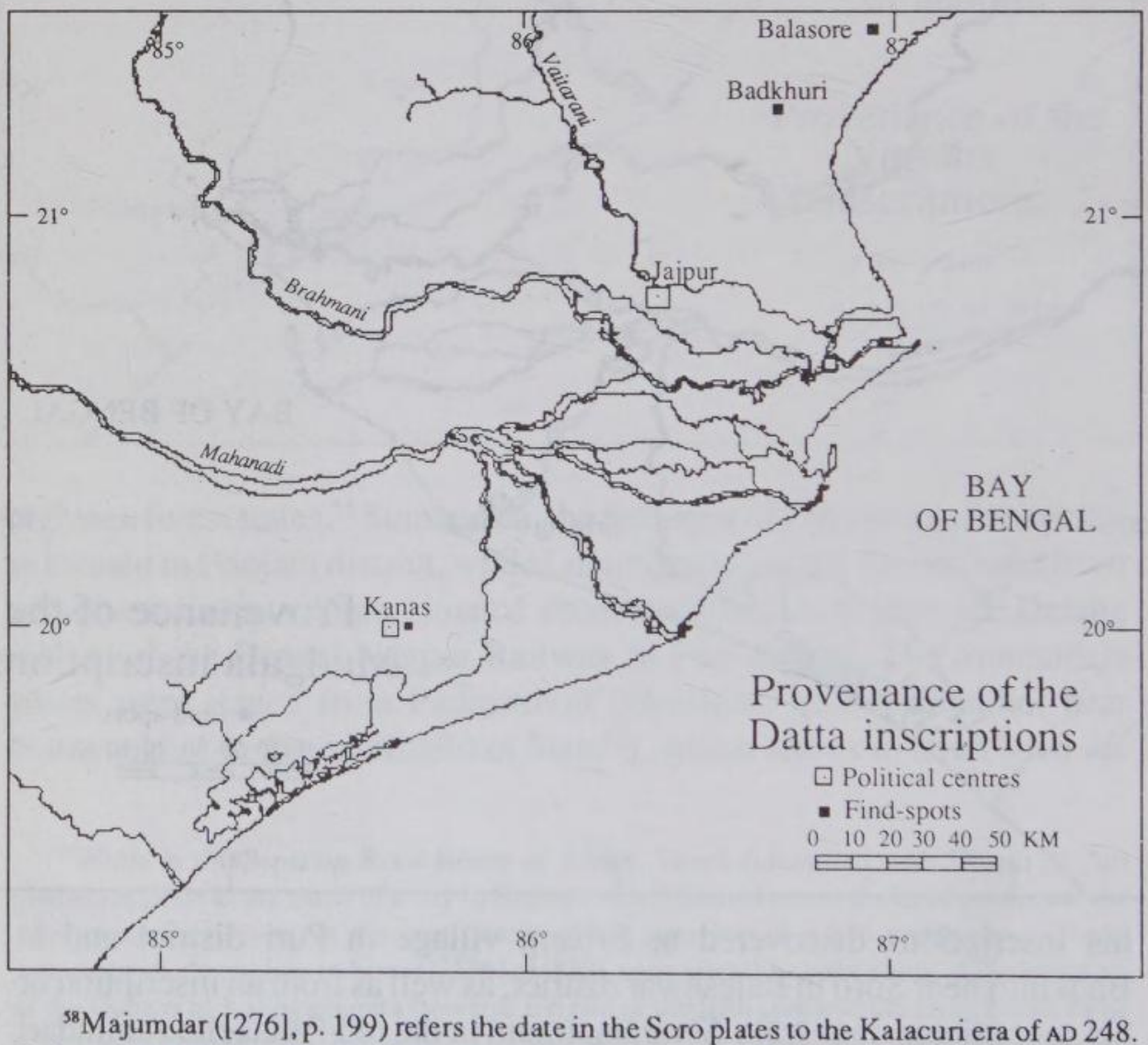
his inscriptions discovered at Erbang village in Puri district and at Badkhuri near Soro in Baleshwar district, as well as from an inscription of his subordinate, mahārāja Śivarāja, found in the old Patiakella zamindari in Cuttack district. The Erbang plate (dated in the year 235) was issued

[57] According to Karve ([227] pp. 48, 50), vaṁśa is the enumeration of the patrilineal descent of a line, where the collateral branches are ignored; kula in its narrower sense refers to the whole of the patri-family residing in one place. The two terms are, however, sometimes used interchangeably.

from Hāndaka, the Soro plate (dated in the year 260) from Tamparavaḍama, and the Patiakella plate (dated in the year 283) from Vorttanoka.[58]

Feudatories of Śaśāṅka; Śubhakīrti and the Dattas

In the course of the first quarter of the seventh century, Uttara and Dakṣiṇa Tosalī came under the sway of Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa (in Bengal). Daṇḍabhukti (which seems to have comprised the southern part of modern Medinipur district and Baleshwar district[59]) was at this time being ruled by a feudatory of Śaśāṅka, Śrīmān Mahāpratīhāra[60] Śubhakīrti, whose Midnapur plates are dated in the eighth regnal year of his overlord. Subsequently, Uttara-Tosalī seems to have come under the control of a



[58]Majumdar ([276], p. 199) refers the date in the Soro plates to the Kalacuri era of AD 248. Rajaguru ([379], pp. 118-19) thinks the reference is to the Māna samvat, which, according to him, commenced in about AD 240. Banerji ([33], p. 287) and Sircar ([536], p. 330) refer the date of the Patiakella plates to the Gupta era.

[59]Majumdar, [285], p. 3.

[60]The term 'mahāpratīhāra' is usually taken to denote the office of the high chamberlain or the head of the door-keepers of the palace, the king's chamber, or the capital city (Sircar, [486], p. 184). Here it appears as a feudatory title.

king named Somadatta. One of the copper plate grants of Somadatta (dated in the nineteenth regnal year of Śaśāṅka) was obtained from Medinipur district in Bengal (the exact find-spot is unknown) and the other two (both dated in Somadatta's fifteenth regnal year) were found at Badkhuri near Soro in Baleshwar district. A king who appears to have belonged to the same family as Somadatta was Bhānudatta or Bhānu; one of his copper plate grants comes from Badkhuri in Baleshwar district, a second was obtained from a maṭha at Kanas in Puri district, while the third was found in a village near the town of Baleshwar in Baleshwar district. All three sets are dated in the fifth regnal year. The two sets of Soro plates of Somadatta were issued from Āmratakṣaka and Śañcāṭaka, while the plates of Bhānudatta were issued variously from Virañjā (i.e. Jajpur), Andhasubhikṣa, and Sagāḍha or Sārephā (the latter is identified with Soro[61]).

The Midnapore plate of Somadatta refers to him as Śrī Sāmanta Mahārāja Somadatta and describes him as the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti along with Utkala.[62] It contains a eulogy of Somadatta's overlord, Śaśāṅka. Both sets of the Soro plates of Somadatta endow him with the titles of mahābalādhikṛta, antaraṅga and mahāsandhivigrahika,[63] and describe him as meditating on the feet of an unnamed overlord, described simply as the parama-daivat-ādhidaivata (a great devotee of the gods and of the supreme god)[64] and parama-bhaṭṭāraka (one supremely entitled to reverence). This may indicate that the allegiance that Somadatta owed to Śaśāṅka was by this time only nominal. The Soro plate of Bhānudatta gives Bhānudatta the titles of mahāpratīhāra and mahārāja, while the Kanas and Baleshwar plates give him the additional title of mahāsāmanta. The plates of Bhānudatta allude to his allegiance to an unnamed overlord, again suggesting that his position was that of a more or less independent ruler owing nominal allegiance to the authority of his overlord.

[61]Majumdar, [276], p. 201.

[62]According to Ganguly ([145], p. 54), Utkala was one of the terms denoting the coastal region of Orissa. In the early seventh century, Utkala and Oḍra were identical, and referred at least to parts of Midnapore (Medinipur) and Balasore (Baleshwar) districts (Ganguly, [145], pp. 54-55).

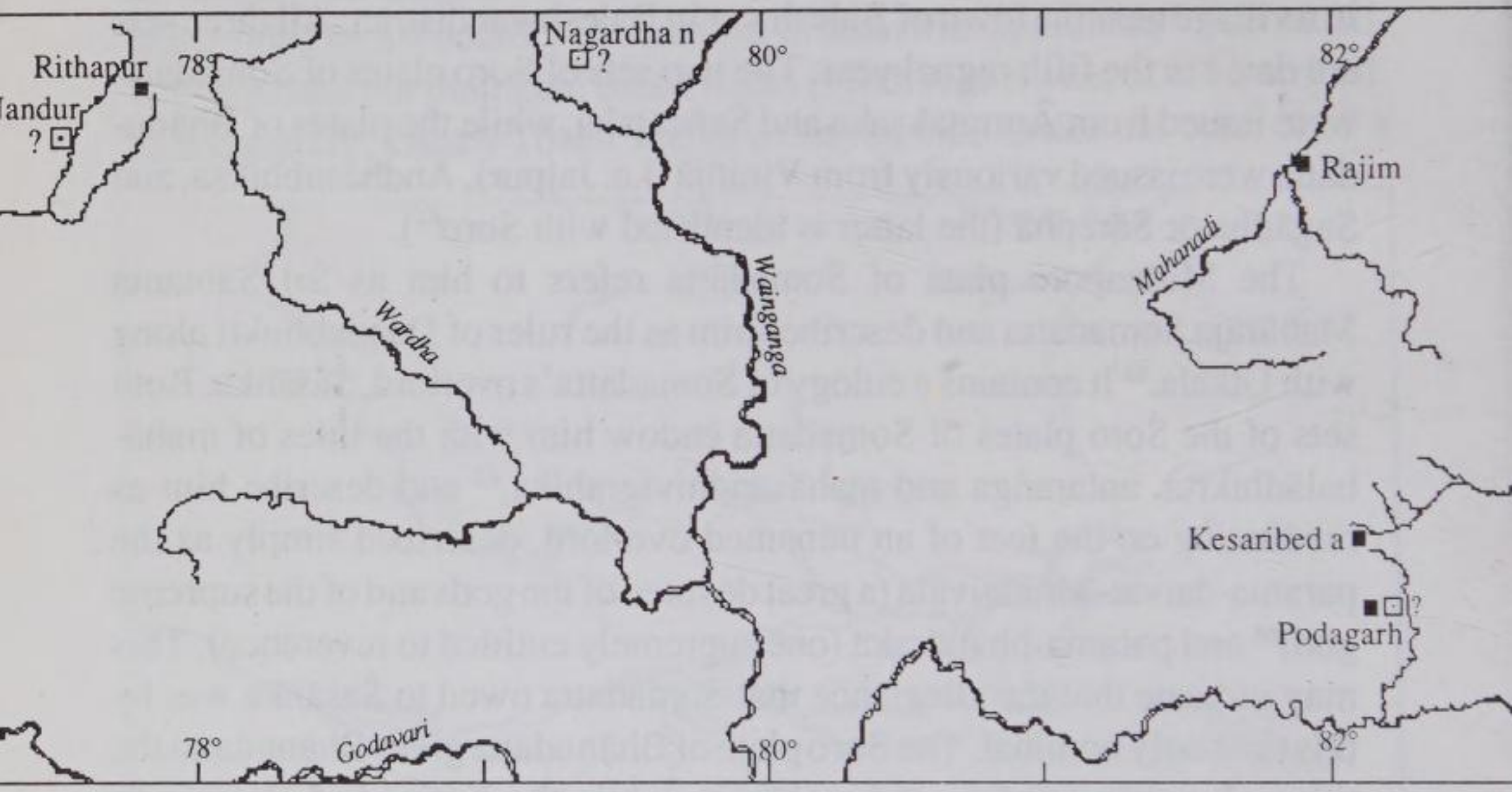
[63]Mahābalādhikṛta seems to have the title of an important military commander; antaraṅga has been variously explained as a privy councillor, a physician, or a private secretary; the mahāsandhivigrahika was a minister of peace and war (Sircar, [486], pp. 23, 174, 188). The use of these designations by a feudatory ruler is noteworthy.

[64]The second Soro plate has parama-daivata (a great devotee of the gods).

West Orissa

The Nalas

In about the second half of the fifth century, the Bastar-Koraput area was under the rule of the Nalas. Four Nala inscriptions have been found, two in Koraput district, one in Raipur district (Madhya Pradesh), and one in Amravati district (in Maharashtra). These kings are described in their



Provenance of the Nala inscriptions

0 20 40 60 80

⊡ Political centres

■ Find-spots

inscriptions as belonging to the family of king Nala (Nala-nṛpati-kul-ānvaya) and as having a banner bearing the emblem of three pennons or the hand with three fingers stretching out (tri-patāka-dhvaja).[65] In addition to the inscriptions, a series of gold coins found in Edenga village in Bastar district bear the names of three Nala kings: Varāharāja, Bhavadatta, and Arthapati.[66] S.N. Rajaguru's identification of Vṛṣadhvaja, whose name

[65]See, for instance, Sircar, [490], p. 16, ll. 1-2. The Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman and Arthapati (Gupte, [175] pp. 102, ll. 1-2) contain similar epithets; the minor variation is: "Nala-nṛpati-vaṁśa-prasūta" (born in the lineage of the king Nala).

[66]Mirashi, [298], pp. 29-35.

appears on a seal discovered at Bhita village near Allahabad with a member of the Nala family is far from conclusive.[67]

The Kesaribeda plates of Śrī Mahārāja Arthapati, dated in the seventh regnal year, were issued from Puṣkarī (which was probably located in the Podagarh region of Koraput district). The Rithapur grant, which appears to record a grant made by Śrī Mahārāja Bhavattavarman, perhaps the father or grandfather of Arthapati, was issued by the latter probably in his eleventh regnal year, from Nandivardhana. Nandivardhana may be identified either with Nagardhana in Nagpur district or with Nandur in Amravati district,[68] and the issue of a Nala grant from this place indicates the temporarily successful inroads made by these kings into Vākāṭaka territory.[69] The Podagarh stone inscription records the erection of a temple and an endowment in its favour in the twelfth regnal year by Śrī Skandavarman, son of nṛpati (king) Bhavadatta, and credits Skandavarman with having reclaimed the lost royal prosperity which had fallen into other hands and having repeopled the deserted town of Puṣkarī.[70] The Rajim stone inscription of Vilāsatuṅga, assigned by V.V. Mirashi to about AD 700,[71] mentions three generations of Nala kings: Pṛthvīrāja, his son Virūparāja, and Vilāsatuṅga (probably the son of Virūparāja). It indicates the survival of Nala rule subsequent to the reverses suffered at the hands of the Vākāṭakas and Cālukyas.[72]

[67]Rajaguru, [404], 1, pt. 2, pp. 109-10. A cautious endorsement of Rajaguru's hypothesis comes from Sahu, [442], pp. 97-98. A refutation is to be found in Misra, [319], pp. 103-06. According to Sircar, the name of the king of the Bhita seal is Vindhyavedhana, and his relationship with the Nalas cannot be ascertained on the basis of available evidence (Sircar, [490], p. 13, n. 3).

[68]Gupte, [175], p. 102.

[69]According to Mirashi, [304], pp. 51-52, Bhavadatta, Arthapati, and Skandavarman were contemporaries of the Vākāṭaka kings Narendrasena and Pṛthivīṣeṇa, and the Nala inroads into and expulsion from Vidarbha may have occurred during the reign of Pṛthivīṣeṇa, whose Balaghat plates credit him with having raised the sunken fortunes of his family.

[70]This could refer to reverses suffered by the Nalas at the hands of the Vākāṭakas or the Cālukyas. The Ajanta Cave inscription of Varāhadeva, a minister of the Vākāṭaka king Harisena, claims that the latter extended his supremacy over Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kosala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa, and Āndhra (Mirashi ed., [299], p. 108, v. 18). The Cālukya king Kīrtivarman (AD 567-97) is described as the night of doom to the Nalas, Mauryas, and Kadambas in the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II (Kielhorn, [230], pp. 4-5, v. 9).

[71]Mirashi, [304], p. 51.

[72]A set of copper plates found at Pandiapathar village near Aska in Ganjam district, assigned on palaeographic grounds to the tenth century AD, speaks of one Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śrī Bhīmasenadeva of the Nala vaṁśa, a ruler of Khiḍḍiraśṛṅga maṇḍala (Sircar, [506], pp. 233-38). Khiḍḍiraśṛṅga maṇḍala has been identified by Sircar with the former Khidishingy zamindari which had its headquarters at Dharakota and lay to the south of

Mahārāja Tuṣṭikāra

An inscription of Mahārāja Tuṣṭikāra, found in Terasinga village on the southern bank of the Tel river in Kalahandi district, has been assigned on palaeographic grounds to the first half of the sixth century. The plates were issued from Tarabhramaka, identified with Tala-Bhamara village, about two miles south of Belkhandi-Rajapadar, on the banks of a tributary of the Tel known as the Utei.[73] An endorsement that appears on the outer side of the first plate indicates that the grant was issued from Parvatadvāraka by Kasthubhsayya (perhaps a mistake for Kausthubeśvaryā), mother of a king whose name has been tentatively read as Sobhoṅnarāja or Śobhiṅnarāja.[74] The circumstances that explain this are not clear. D.C. Sircar suggests that perhaps the king mentioned in the endorsement was a minor son of Tuṣṭikāra, that the queen who made the endorsement was his mother, and that Parvatadvāraka was a secondary capital of their kingdom.[75] Tuṣṭikāra appears to have been a minor king, ruling over a small area around Tarabhramaka and Parvatadvāraka.

The Śarabhapurīyas

The Śarabhapurīya kings established their rule in Dakṣiṇa Kosala (modern Raipur, Bilaspur, and Sambalpur districts of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh) in the fifth century AD. The inscriptions of these kings have been found in the Raipur and Raigarh districts of Madhya Pradesh. The places whence the grants were issued were Śarabhapura, Tilakeśvara, and Śrīpura. Śarabhapura has been identified variously with Srapa or Sarabhagarh (in Sambalpur district), Sambalpur (in Sambalpur district), Sarangarh (in Raigarh district, M.P.), Sripur (in Raipur district, M.P.), Sarava (near Seorinarayan, Bilaspur district, M.P.), Sarhar (near Nandaur, Ahmadnagar district, Maharashtra), and Srabhavaram (about twenty miles from Rajahmundry, E. Godavari district, A.P.).[76] Śrīpura can be identified with modern Sirpur in Raipur district.

The founder of the Śarabhapurīya dynasty (and, in all likelihood, of the capital as well) was a king named Śarabha, who has been identified with the Śarabharāja mentioned in the Eran inscription of Goparāja, dated in the Gupta year 191 (i.e. AD 510), corresponding to the reign of the Gupta king

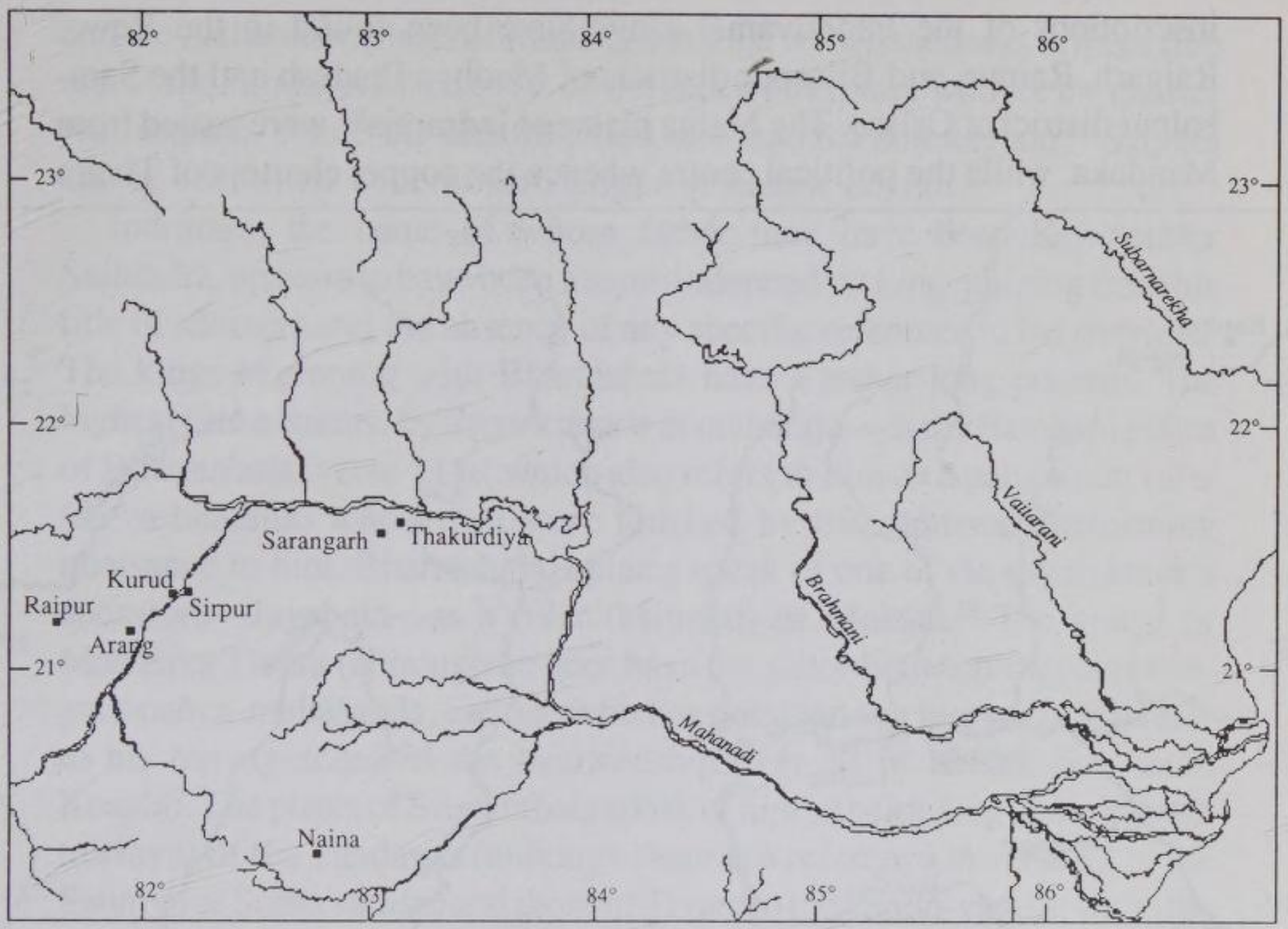
Bodaguda and to the west of Ghumsur. The grant was issued from Bhīmapura. The nature of the connection, if any, of Bhīmasena with the earlier Nalas is not clear.

[73]Sircar, [522], p. 276.

[74]The names of the king as well as the mother are difficult to make out because of the careless engraving of the letters.

[75]Sircar, [522], p. 275.

[76]Sircar and Pandeya, [542], p. 144 and n. 13.



Provenance of the Śarabhapurīya inscriptions 0 20 40 60 80 100 KM

Bhānugupta.[77] Seven kings of this dynasty are known from the inscriptions. One of them—Prasanna—is also known from coins found at places such as Salhepali in Raigarh district, and at Nandaur.[78]

Narendra bears the title of mahārāja; the other Śarabhapurīya kings do not even have this modest title. The praśasti of the other Śarabhapurīya kings describe them as having their feet bathed by the waters flowing from the lustre of the crest-jewels in the crowns of the sāmantas subjugated by their prowess.

The Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs

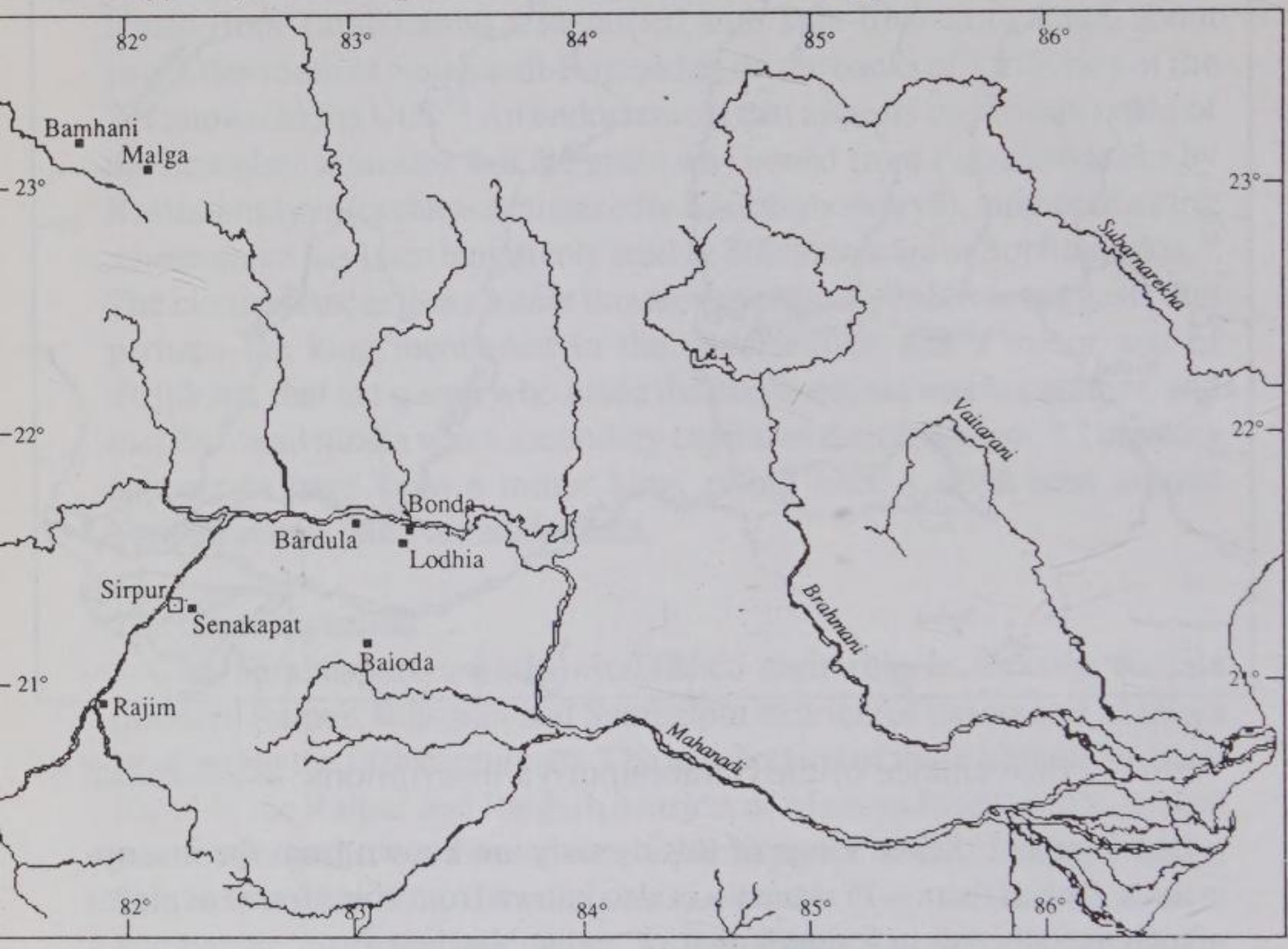
Śarabhapurīya rule in South Kosala was supplanted, probably some time during the sixth century AD, by that of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs.[79] The

[77]Mirashi, [305], p. 17.

[78]See, for instance, Pandeya, [348], pp. 595-96; [344], p. 476. It may be noted that these coins bear Vaiṣṇava emblems—a discus, conch, and a possible representation of Lakṣmī or the garuḍa.

[79]The chronology of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs is controversial and hinges to a large extent on the identification of the Trīvara or Tīvara who is mentioned in the inscriptions of the Śailodbhava

inscriptions of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī kings have been found in the Rewa, Raigarh, Raipur, and Bilaspur districts of Madhya Pradesh and the Sambalpur district of Orissa. The Malga plates of Indrarāja[80] were issued from Maṇḍaka, while the political centre whence the copper charters of Tīvara



Provenance of the Pāṇḍuvamsī inscriptions

□ Political centres ▪ Find-spots 0 20 40 60 80 100 KM

king Dharmarāja. Mirashi ([301], pp. 227-30) places the beginning of Tīvara's rule in about AD 560 and assigns these kings of South Kosala to the sixth and seventh century AD. According to Sircar ([477], pp. 112-13) there were two Pāṇḍuvaṁśī kings named Tīvara, one (the contemporary of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I, whom the latter claims to have defeated) ruling in the second half of the sixth century and the other (the contemporary of the Śailodbhava Dharmarāja) ruling in the second half of the seventh century. Ghosh ([146], pp. 266-70) places Tīvara in the last quarter of the seventh century and identifies him with the Trīvara of the Śailodbhava inscriptions. Rajaguru ([376], pp. 109-14) also supports the contemporaneity of Tīvara and Dharmarāja and places the former between AD 620 and 650. Sahu ([440], pp. 130-31) places Tīvara in the middle of the seventh century AD. For a summary of the arguments why Tīvara should be placed in the sixth and not the seventh century, see Ganguly, [145], pp. 184-85.

[80]It is not certain whether Indrarāja of the Malga plates belonged to the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī family. While his genealogy does not link him with the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs, there is a general similarity in some of the sections of his inscription and that of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs. Moreover, the father of the engraver of the Malga plates, as in the Bamhani plates of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king

and the Adhabhara plates of Mahā-Nannarāja were issued was Śrīpura (the rest of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī charters do not specify the place whence the charter was issued). While the identification of Maṇḍaka is uncertain,[81] Śrīpura can be identified with modern Sirpur in Raipur district.[82]

Indrarāja, the name of whose father may have been Kṣitipati or Śailendra, appears to have been a semi-independent king, judging from his title of sāmanta and the absence of any specific reference to his overlord. The kings beginning with Bharatabala have a rather long praśasti. The highest title assumed by these kings was mahārāja—in the Bamhani plates of Bharatabala, verse 11 of which also refers to him as a paramount ruler (sarva-bhauma) whose feet were touched by the sāmantas performing obeisance to him. Bharatabala's plates speak of one of the royal donor's ancestors—Jayabala—as a ruler (kṣitipati) of Mekalā.[83] The grants of Mahāśiva Tīvara (although he does have the subordinate epithet samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda, i.e. one who has obtained the five sounds[84]) refer to his having acquired the overlordship over all of Kosala (i.e. south Kosala). The plates of Bharatabala speak of him as belonging to the lineage (anvaya) of the Pāṇḍavas (although there is a reference in verse 11 to the Saumya or Soma vaṁśa) and those of Tīvara to the Pāṇḍu-vaṁśa, while the Adhabhara plates of Mahā-Nannarāja refer to the family as the Śaśi-vaṁśa, the Senakapat inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna as the

Bharatabala, was suvarṇakāra (goldsmith) Īśvara. While Sircar and Sankaranarayanan ([545], pp. 210-11) find no indication of the dynasty to which Indrarāja belonged, Rajaguru ([404], 4: 314) suggests that because of the provenance and palaeography of the Malga plates, the name of the writer's father, and Indrarāja being a familiar name among the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs, it is quite probable that Indrarāja of the Malga plates and Bharatabala of the Bamhani plates belonged to the same ruling house.

[81] According to Sircar and Sankaranarayanan ([545], p. 211), it is difficult to say whether Malga, the name of the find-spot of the plates can be seen as a modification of Maṇḍaka.

[82] See, for instance, Sircar, [477], p. 114.

[83] The country of Mekalā probably lay in the environs of the Amarkantak hills (see Chhabra, [67], p. 135).

[84] This epithet apparently referred to the person in question having obtained the privilege of enjoying the sound of five instruments. The five instruments were perhaps the trumpet, tambour, conch-shell, kettle-drum, and gong. According to Fleet ([137], p. 296, n. 9), the interpretation of the epithet samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda as referring to the privilege of enjoying the sound of these five instruments is preferable to his own earlier one which saw herein a reference to the right of assuming five titles beginning with the prefix 'mahā' (great), e.g. mahārāja, mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, mahāsāmanta, etc. The possession of the pañca-mahāśabda is usually associated with feudatory status. However, some dynasties of South India, the eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgi, for instance, used it as a title of paramountcy (Sircar, [530], p. 192).

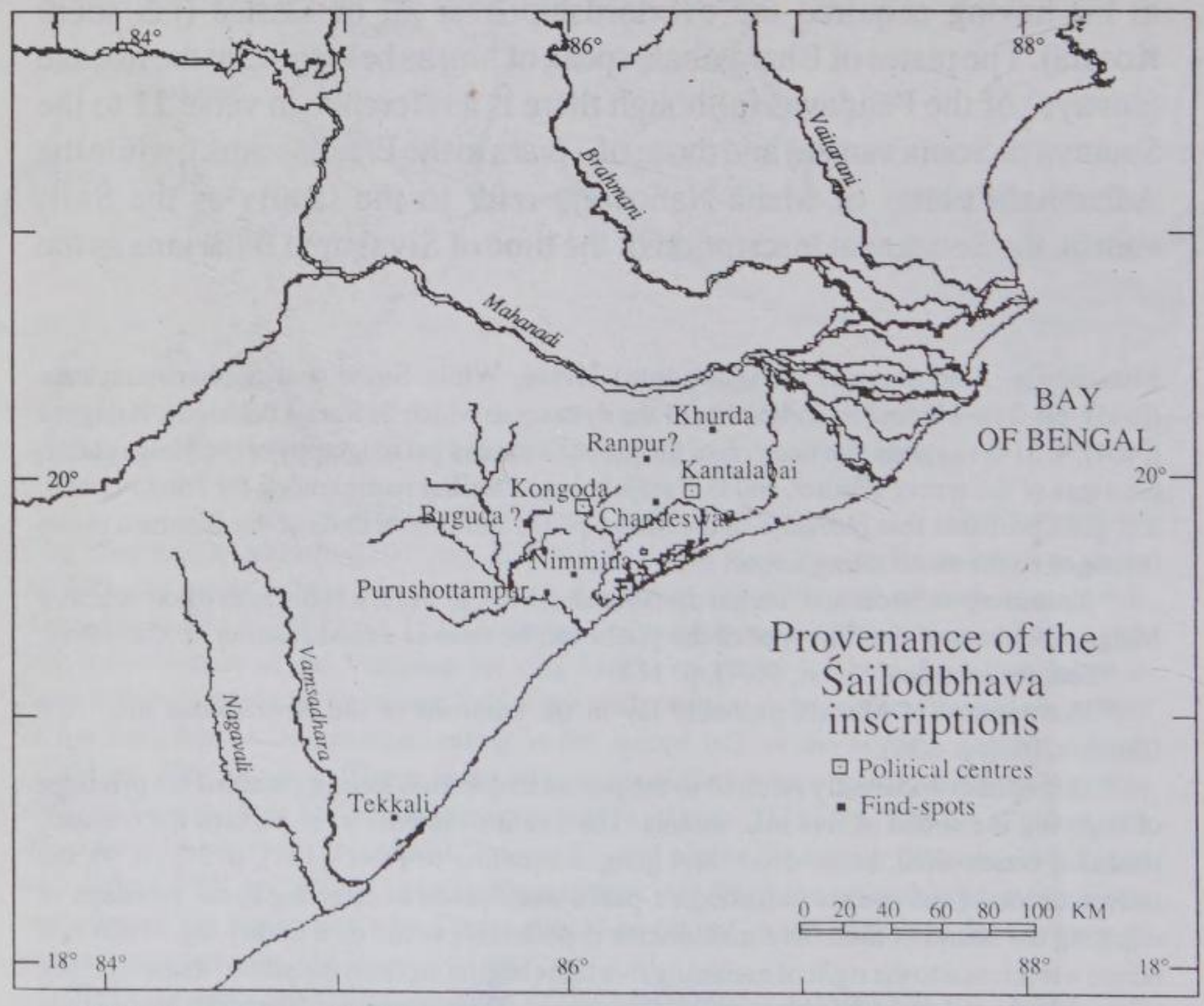
Śītāṅśu-vaṁśa, the Sirpur stone inscription of Vāsaṭā as the Candr-ānvaya, and the Bardula, Bonda, Lodhia, and Mallar plates of Mahāśivagupta as the Soma-vaṁśa. The Senakapat inscription of Śivagupta Bālārjuna refers to a subordinate of this king named Durgarakṣita, who appears to have obtained the governorship of the Vindhyan area as far as the banks of the river Varadā (identified with the Wardha, a tributary of the Godavari[85]).

PERIOD II: THE SEVENTH TO THE TENTH CENTURY

South and Central Orissa

The Śailodbhavas

In the course of the late sixth century, the Śailodbhavas established their rule over Koṅgoda, which, judging from the find-spots of the Śailodbhava inscriptions, corresponded to modern Ganjam and Puri districts.[86] The



[85]Dikshit and Sircar, [117], p. 34.

[86]The only Śailodbhava inscription found ouside the Puri-Ganjam area is a set of plates of Madhyamarāja, which were found inside the spire of a temple at Tekkali, Srikakulam district, Andhra Pradesh.

Khurda plates of Mādhavarāja seem to refer to him as sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhipati (lord of all Kaliṅga), which may indicate some military successes south of the Puri-Ganjam area. That these successes were shortlived is suggested by the fact that this title does not appear in any of the other inscriptions of this king, nor in those of his successors. The Śailodbhava grants were issued from a variety of centres: Koṅgoda (apparently the name of both the kingdom as well as a capital of the Śailodbhavas) on the banks of the Śālimā river (generally identified with the Salia river[87]), Śrīdhara-pura, Kaṭaka,[88] Mātṛcandrapāṭaka, Alatālaṅghapura koṭa (apparently a fortress), Kontalayi (tentatively identified with Kantalabai on the Chilka lake, near the Bhushundapur railway station[89]), Āsiliḍa/Siliḍa, and Saumyapura.[90]

The earliest epigraphic record of the Śailodbhava dynasty is the Ganjam grant of Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja alias Sainyabhīta (who had the additional name of Śrīnivāsa in some of his other inscriptions), dated in the Gupta year 300, i.e. AD 619-20, and referring to two of Mādhavarāja's predecessors. The Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja indicate that in the year AD 619-20, he was a subordinate of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Śaśāṅka, the ruler of Bengal, but his subsequent plates contain no mention of his overlord. Mādhavarāja may have assumed an independent status on the occassion of Śaśāṅka's defeat at the hands of Harṣa of the Puṣyabhūti dynasty. He may have had to briefly acknowledge the suzerainty of Harṣa, from the time of the latter's invasion of Orissa in around AD 641-42 until Harṣa's death in AD 647.[91] The reign of the sixth Śailodbhava ruler, Dharmarāja alias Mānabhīta, was apparently marked by the occurrence of a succession dispute. The Puri plates of Dharmarāja indicate that this king's claims to the throne were challenged by his brother Mādhava. The inscription refers to the banishing of Mādhava, and a military encounter at a place called Phāsikā.[92] Mādhava is said to have allied himself with a king named

[87]Sircar, [468], p. 35. According to Rajaguru ([404], 1, pt. 2, p. 160), however, the river Śālimā may also be identified with the Rishikulya, as several places mentioned in the Śailodbhava inscriptions are to be found on the banks of the Rishikulya.

[88]This could be a specific place-name, but more likely simply means the royal camp or city.

[89]Sircar, [531], p. 270.

[90]A Bhañja-Śailodbhava palimpsest found at Dharakota was issued from Vañjulvaka (Rajaguru, [404], 1, pt. 2, pp. 248-53).

[91]On the chronology of Harṣa's eastern campaigns, see Majumdar gen. ed., [287], 3, pp. 106, 110.

[92]According to Rajaguru, Phāsik may be identified with Phasi, a large village in Athagada in Ganjam district, about eighteen miles from Khallikota railway station. He locates the scene

Trīvara or Tīvara, only to be defeated a second time by Dharmarāja, and was forced to retire to the foot of the Vindhya mountains. Controversy surrounds the identification of the Trīvara or Tīvara who rendered aid to Mādhava. He is identified by some scholars with Mahāśiva Tīvara, the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king of south Kosala, but may have been one of his successors.[93]

The Śailodbhava copperplate grants give a systematic genealogy of these kings, and also contain an account of the origin of the dynasty which refers to the miraculous birth of its mythical progenitor. The account (in verse) of the origin of the Śailodbhava dynasty is given in the Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman and appears in subsequent Śailodbhava inscriptions. According to the standard version of this account, there was a man named Pulindasena, famed among the people of Kaliṅga, who, not coveting sovereignty himself, prayed to Svayambhū for a man worthy to rule the earth. The answer to these prayers was Śailodbhava, so called because he was seen emerging from a rock breaking asunder. Raṇabhīta, apparently the first historical king of the family, is described as one born in the family (kulaja) of Śailodbhava.[94]

While the frequent reference in the Śailodbhava inscriptions from the time of the Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta[95] onwards to the

of the battle between Dharmarāja and Mādhava in a field lying at the foot of a hill called Krishnagiri, which lies about four miles east of Phasi village (Rajaguru, [393], pp. 185-86).

[93]According to Sircar, ([537], p. 39), the major objection against the identification of Tīvara of the inscriptions of Dharmarāja with Mahāśiva Tīvara is that the latter's rule must be placed in the sixth century, while that of Dharmarāja not before the last quarter of the seventh century.

[94]This account is discussed in greater detail in chap. II. The Pulindas were an ancient Indian tribe (Law, [265], pp. 174-75). They are mentioned in texts in association with other non-Aryan tribes such as the Śabaras, Andhras, Ābhīras, and Pulkusas (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 7. 18; *Mahābhārata* 12. 207. 42; *Matsya Purāṇa* 114, 46-48; *Vāyu Purāṇa* 45, 126 etc.; cited in Law, [265], p. 174). The Pulindas are placed by most texts in South India, although a northern branch of the tribe is also known. According to Law ([265], p. 175), the political centre of the southern Pulindas was Pulindanagara, situated in the Vidiśā or Bhilsa region, and perhaps identifiable with Rupnath (the place where one of the Minor Rock Edicts of Aśoka was found). The reference to Pulindasena in the Śailodbhava genealogical account may suggest a connection with the Pulinda tribe. De ([108], p. xiv) suggests that the Śailodbhavas can be identified with the Śailajās mentioned in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* along with the Pulindas and other peoples. He suggests that the Śailajās and Pulindas probably inhabited the coastal area between the Mahanadi and the Godavari, and that they were allies. He adds that the Śailodbhava account indicates that the Śailajās were originally under the Pulindas, and that they subsequently became independent with the help of Pulindasena, a Pulinda leader.

[95]Mādhavarāja of the Ganjam and Khurda plates is evidently the same person as Mādhavavarman of the Buguda, Purushottampur, Puri, and Orissa Museum plates. The

performance by the donor king or one of his predecessors of the Aśvamedha and other great sacrifices (the Vājapeya finds additional mention in some of the inscriptions) may be taken to indicate a claim to independent status,[96] the only Śailodbhava king to actually assume imperial titles was Dharmarāja, whose epithets in the Nivina plates include parama-bhaṭṭāraka (one supremely entitled to reverence), mahārājādhirāja (supreme king of mahārājas), and parameśvara (supreme lord).[97]

Neṭṭabhañja

In the eighth century, about the time of the decline of the Śailodbhava dynasty, parts of Dhenkanal, as well as some areas of Ganjam, Puri, and Cuttack districts were under the rule of a king named Neṭṭabhañja. Neṭṭabhañja is known from two sets of copper plates, the original find-spots of which are unknown, one reportedly having been acquired from the ruling chief of Baudh, the other from an inhabitant of Banatumbu village near Russellkonda (Bhanjanagara) in Ganjam district. The Baud plates, dated in the regnal year 18, were issued from Aṅgulapattana which has been identified with modern Angul in Dhenkanal district.[98] The Russellkonda plates, dated in the regnal year 26, were issued from Vārāḍḍā, identified by D.C. Sircar with Barada or Baruda, seven miles from Russellkonda and two miles from Kuladagarh, and by S.N. Rajaguru with Madhava-Barida, about four miles from Banatumva, on the banks of the Loharakandi river.[99] According to the Russellkonda plates, Neṭṭabhañja belonged to the Drumarāja kula.

The Gaṅgas of Śvetaka

During the period which saw the waning of the power of the Śailodbhavas, the north Ganjam area of Orissa came under the rule of the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka, probably a collateral branch of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara.[100] Most of the Śvetaka Gaṅga grants are dated in either

problem created by the apparently later script of the Buguda plates (which were assigned by some scholars to as late as the tenth century) was resolved with the discovery of the Orissa Museum plates, the script of which is similar to the Ganjam and Khurda plates, and the introductory portion of which is akin to that of the Buguda and other later Śailodbhava inscriptions.

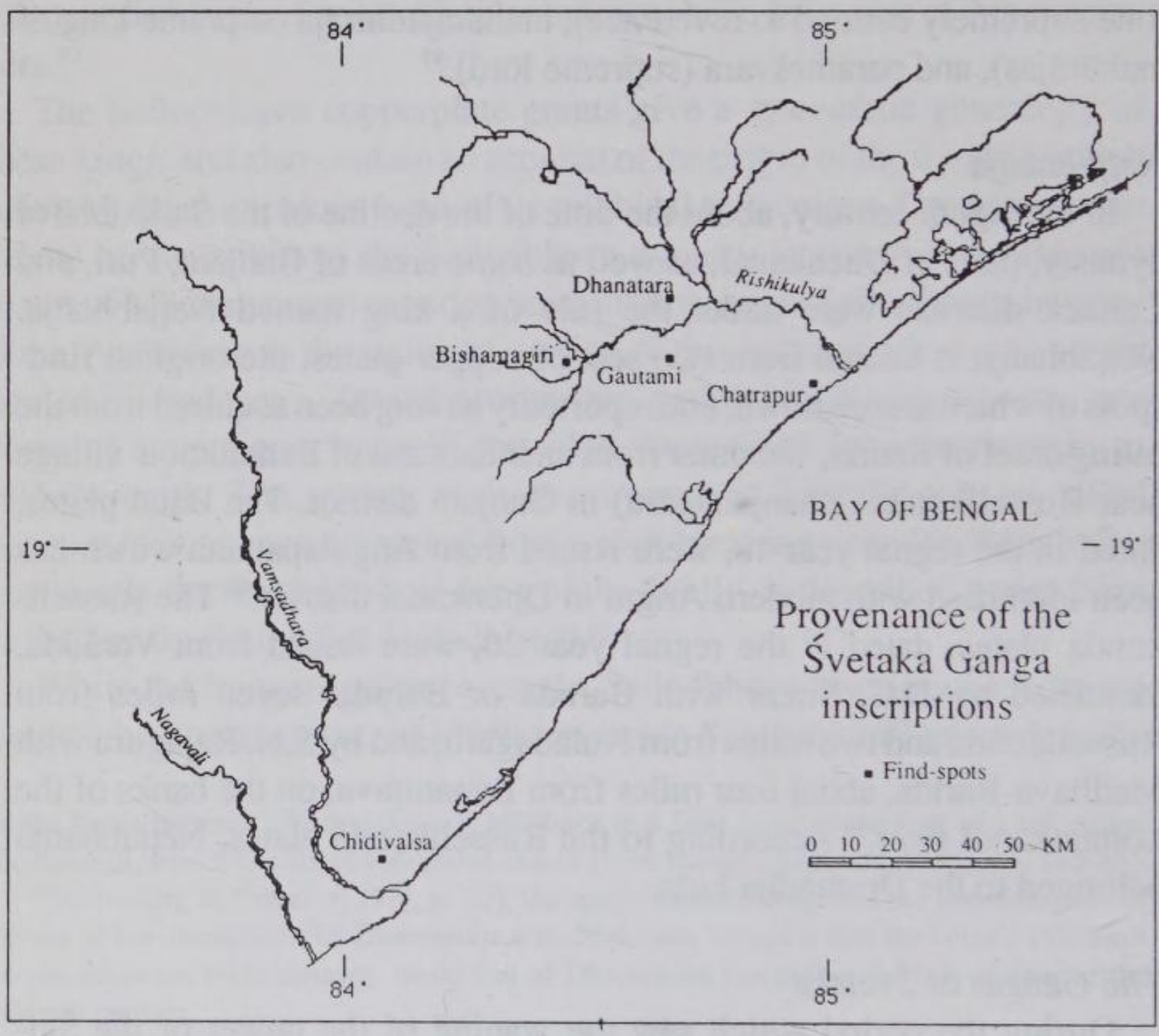
[96]For more on this issue, see chap. II. For a discussion of whether a subordinate king could perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice and a conclusion to the contrary, see Sircar, [520], pp. 167-74.

[97]These three titles of paramountcy are hereafter left untranslated.

[98]Misra, [309], p. 105. [99]Sircar, [513], p. 261; Rajaguru, [372], p. 267.

[100]A connection between the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka and those of Kaliṅganagara is suggested,

regnal years or in an unspecified era, which may have been the Gaṅga or the Bhauma-Kara era.[101] The political centre whence the copperplate grants of these kings were issued was a place called Śvetaka,[102] not yet satisfactorily identified.



While the Dhanantara and Kama-Nalinakshapur plates of Sāmanta-varman—the first known Śvetaka Gaṅga king—do not endow him with any royal titles, some of the subsequent inscriptions (the Pherava plates of Sāmantavarman and the various grants of Jayavarman) introduce modest titles such as rāṇaka and mahārāja. The more grandiose titles of mahārājā-

apart from the common name 'Gaṅga,' by the reference in the inscriptions of both groups of kings to their worship of the deity Gokarṇasvāmī on mount Mahendra and the indications that both groups may have been migrants from the Karnataka area. The Śvetaka branch of the Gaṅga family apparently established itself to the north of the dominions of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara.

[101]On the Bhauma era, see p. 57.

[102]This name has been read as Ścetaka in two of the inscriptions.

dhirāja, parameśvara and parama-bhaṭṭāraka appear in the grants of later kings such as Bhūpendravarman, Anantavarman, Pṛithivīvarman, Indravarman (in a few, not all of his grants), and Dānārṇava (accompanied in this last case with the subordinate title rāṇaka). One of the sets of the Ganjam plates of Jayavarman suggests that this king owed allegiance to Unmaṭṭakeśarī at Virajā, who may be identified as a Bhauma-Kara king.[103] The Śvetaka Gaṅgas claim to have acquired the overlordship of all of Kaliṅga through their own strength and prowess and as having all the sāmantas (in some cases, the circle of sāmantas) devoted to them due to the preeminence of their three-fold power (śakti).[104] The grants of Pṛthivīvarman and Indravarman speak of these kings as hailing from Kolāulapura-paṭṭana or Kokalāvalapura-paṭṭana. The Indian Museum and Badakhimedi plates of Indravarman refer to this king as Nandagiri-nātha (lord of Nandagiri). Kolāulapura has been identified with Kolar in Karnataka, while Nandagiri is identified with Nandidrug, a hill to the west of the same district.[105] These references suggest that the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka were migrants from the Karnataka area.

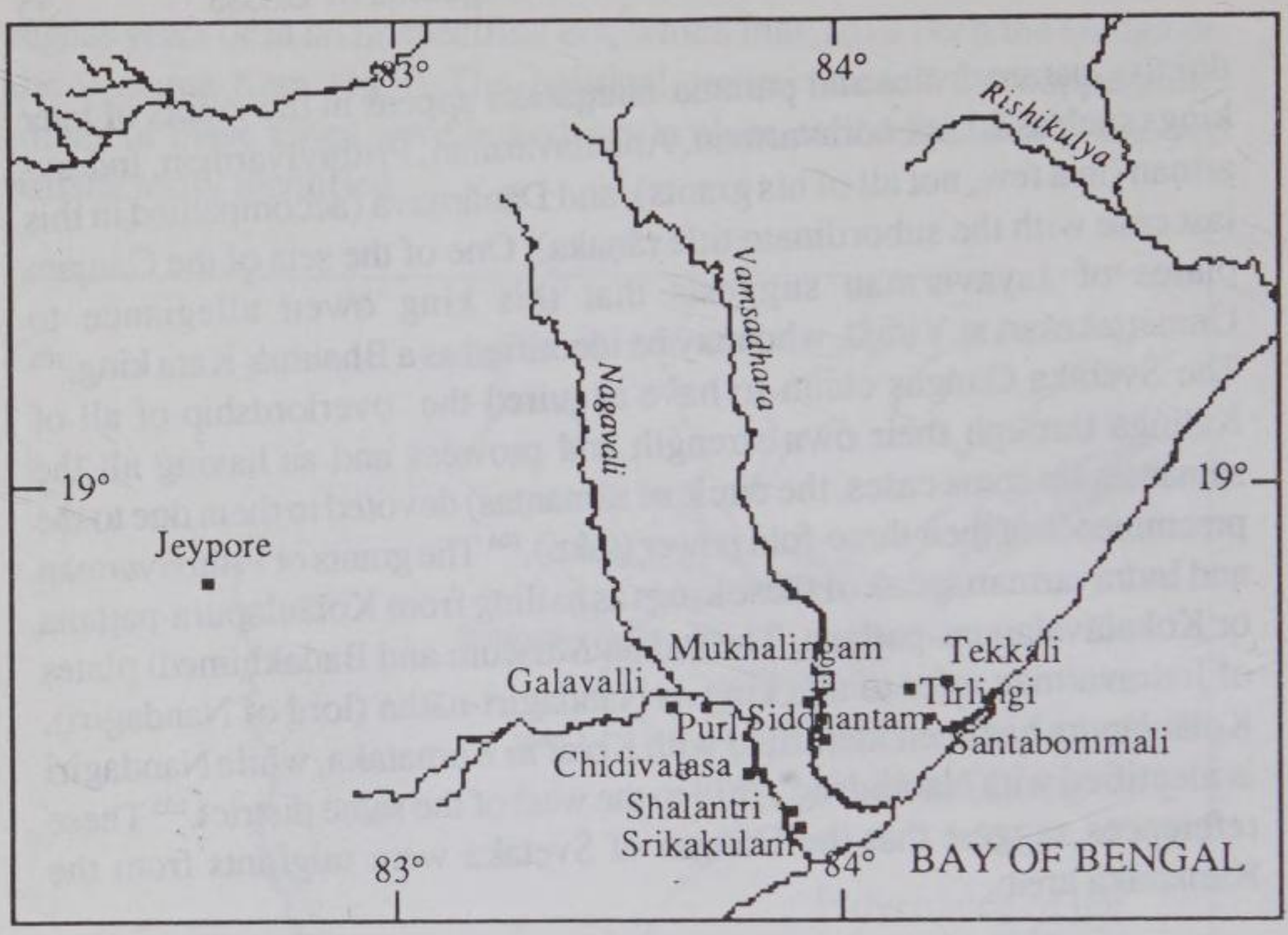
The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (inscriptions no. 14-40)

All the inscriptions of the Gaṅga kings of inscription nos. 14-40 were issued from Kaliṅganagara. The era that these grants are dated in is referred to specifically as the Gāṅgeya era from the time of the Alamanda plates of Anantavarman (no. 22). While the first few Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅganagara assumed no title higher than mahārāja, the epithet mahārājādhirāja is first applied to Rājendravarman, father of Devendravarman in the latter's Shalantri plates as well as one of his Chicacole plates (nos. 24, 25), and is applied to Devendravarman himself in his Chicacole plates (no. 26). Subsequently, titles such as parameśvara, mahārājādhirāja, and parama-bhaṭṭāraka, were frequently used by some of the successors of Devendravarman. Most of the inscriptions of these kings refer to their having obtained overlordship over all of Kaliṅga by the quivering edge of their own sword.

[103]According to Misra ([311], p. 490), this is corroborated by a Bhauma-Kara inscription wherein the Bhauma king Unmaṭṭasiṁha is said to have subjugated the Kaliṅgas. It may be pointed out that the inscription in question is the Talcher plate (year 149) of the Bhauma-Kara king Śivakara, which, according to Misra's own reading (Misra, [318], pp. 41, 43), attributes the subjugation of the Kaliṅgas not to Unmaṭṭasiṁha but to his son Śubhākara.

[104]The three śaktis are prabhu-śakti, mantra-śakti, and utsāha-śakti—the power of majesty, good counsel, and energy.

[105]These identifications were suggested by Rice, [435], p. 32.



Provenance of the Gaṅga inscriptions (14-40)

▫ Political centres ▪ Find-spots

0 20 40 60 80 100 KM

Certain inscriptions record grants by subordinates or feudatories of the Gaṅgas: The donor of the Parlakimedi plates (no. 34) of the time of Vajrahasta was pañca-viṣay-ādhipati (lord of five viṣayas) Dāraparāja, described as belonging to the Gaṅga kula (family), and the son of Coḷa-Kāmadirāja; that of the Nirakarapur plates (no. 36) was Udayakhedi, son of Ugrakhedi, of the Kadamba family.[106]

North Orissa

The Bhauma-Karas

In the middle of the eighth or the ninth century, a large part of north and central Orissa came under the rule of the Bhauma-Karas. The dating of the

[106]These Kadambas seem to have been a branch of the western Kadambas of the Kanarese country (Sircar, in Majumdar, gen. ed., [287], 4, p. 145).

inscriptions of these kings is controversial. The synchronism of the Bhauma king Śubhākara I with the Chinese emperor Te-tsong has been questioned by some scholars.[107] According to Binayak Misra, the era used in the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions is the Harṣa era of AD 606.[108] R.D. Banerji refers the dates of the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions to the Gaṅga era, the beginning of which he places in AD 778.[109] S.N. Rajaguru and D.C. Sircar agree that the Bhauma-Karas established their own era, but disagree over when this era commenced. Rajaguru[110] and K.C. Panigrahi,[111] place the beginning of the Bhauma era in AD 736, while Sircar places it in AD 831.[112] Binayak Misra traces the origin of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty to the Bhūyān tribe,[113] while Umakanta Subuddhi prefers to connect the ancestry of this family with the Utkala branch of the Bhauma family of Kāmarūpa.[114]

[107]Lévi ([266], pp. 263-64) proposed the identification of the Bhauma king Śubhākara with the king of Wu-ch'a from whom the Chinese emperor Te-tsong is supposed to have received an autographed manuscript of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* in AD 795. According to scholars such as Sircar ([483], p. 151), this identification is not free from problems. The translation of the Chinese name for the Indian ruler is 'the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion,' and does not correspond to the meaning of the name Śubhākara ('storehouse of that which is auspicious'). According to Panigrahi ([357], p. 25) the king who gave the Chinese emperor the manuscript of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* was Śivakara Unmaṭṭasiṁha.

[108]Misra, [318], p. 78.

[109]Banerji, [30], pp. 636-40.

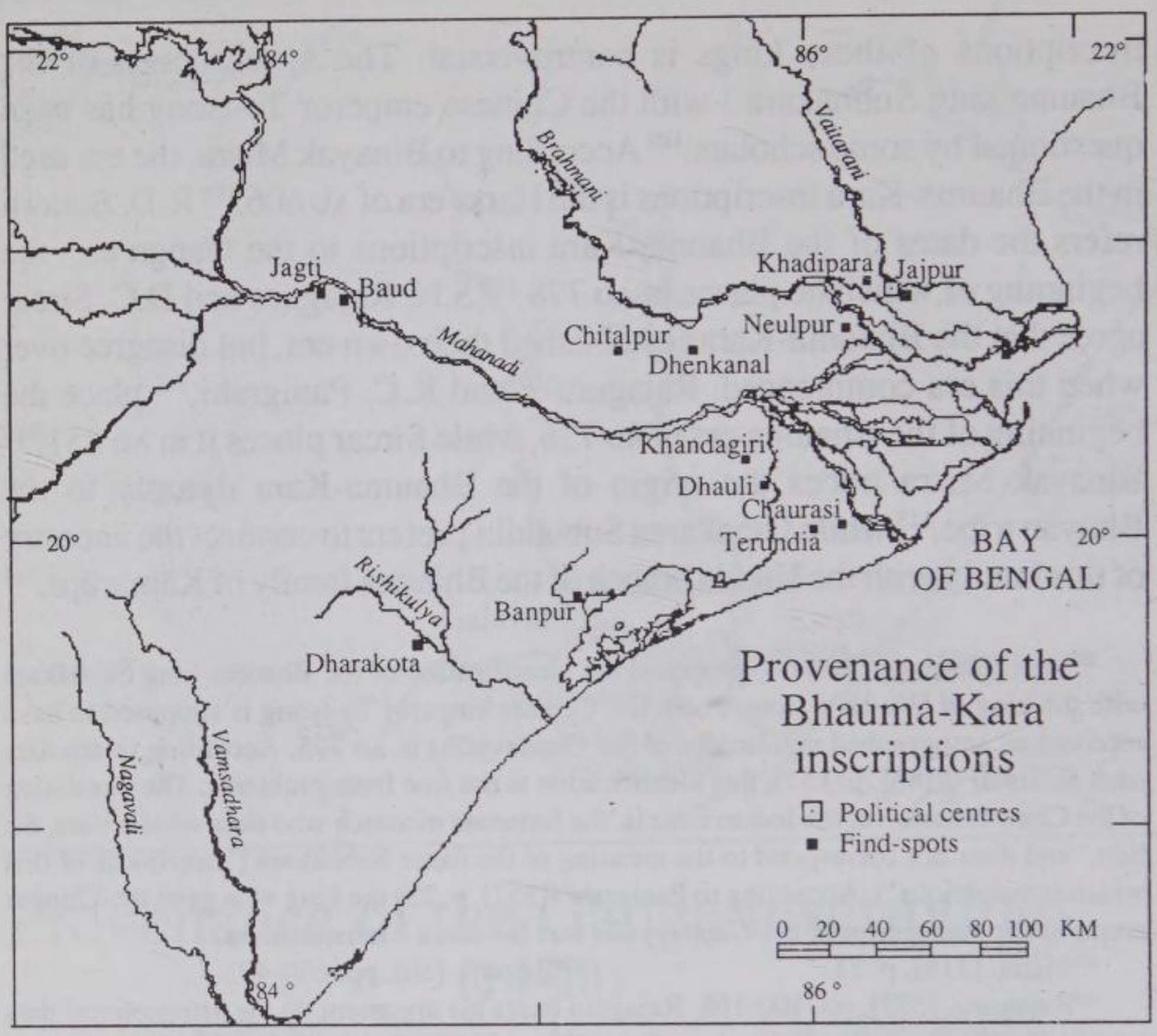
[110]Rajaguru, [373], pp. 100-108. Rajaguru bases his argument on the astronomical data supplied by the Daspalla and Ganjam plates of Śatrubhañja and the Orissa Museum plates of Neṭṭabhañja, dated respectively in the (Bhauma) years 198, 198, and 213. He asserts that the three possible dates when the astronomical conjunction (viṣuva saṁkrānti, ravi-dina, pañcamī tithi, Mṛgaśiro nakṣatra) mentioned in the Daspalla plates occurred were 812, 934, and 1029, which give the three corresponding dates of AD 614, 736, and 831 as the possible initial years of the Bhauma-Kara era. Of these, he suggests, AD 736 is the most appropriate.

[111]Panigrahi, [357], pp. 6-8. Panigrahi's argument for AD 736 is based on his interpretation of the Baud plates of Pṛthivīmahādevī, which, according to him, suggest the contemporaneity of the Somavaṁśī king Janamejaya I with the Kalacuri king Śaṅkaragaṇa (AD 878-910); further, on his interpretation of the Brahmeśvara inscription of the time of Somavaṁśī Udyotakeśarī, which, he asserts, alludes to Janamejaya's killing of the reigning Bhauma-Kara king and his placing his daughter Pṛthivīmahādevī on the throne. Panigrahi also concurs with Rajaguru's calculations based on astronomical details.

[112] Sircar, [483], pp. 148-55. Sircar identifies the Svabhāvatuṅga stated to be the father of Pṛthivīmahādevī alias Tribhuvanamahādevī II in the Bhauma queen's Baud plates with Mahāśivagupta Yayāti Svabhāvatuṅga, whose rule he places between AD 970 and 1000. Working backwards from this synchronism, Sircar assigns the beginning of the Bhauma-Kara era to roughly the first half of the ninth century AD. He then points out that, according to Svamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephimeris*, 3, p. 60, the date on which the astronomical conjunction mentioned in the Daspalla plates of Śatrubhañja (dated in Saṁvat 198) occurred corresponds to March 23rd, AD 1029, which would give a date of AD 831 for the beginning of the Bhauma-Kara era.

[113]Misra, [318], pp. 80-81.

[114]Subuddhi, [564], pp. 32-36. Also see Panigrahi, [357], pp. 20-25.



The inscriptions (including a few stone inscriptions) of the Bhauma-Karas have been found in Baleshwar, Dhenkanal, Phulabani, Cuttack, Puri, and Ganjam districts. All the Bhauma-Kara copperplates were issued from Guhadevapāṭaka or Guheśvarapāṭaka, which probably lay in the vicinity of modern Jajpur on the Vaitarani river.[115] While Śubhākara I had no title higher than mahārāja, his successors bore the imperial titles of parama-bhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja, and paramesvara, modified to parama-bhaṭṭārikā, mahārājādhirāja, and parameśvarī in the case of the Bhauma-Kara queens.[116] The Bhauma-Kara inscriptions provide detailed genealogical information concerning the rulers of this dynasty. That the Bhauma-Karas had matrimonial alliances with the Bhañjas and the Somavaṁśīs is indicated by the Baud plates of the (Bhauma) year 158 of the Bhauma queen Pṛthvīmahādevī alias Tribhuvanamahādevī, which

[115]According to Misra ([318], p. 89), Guheśvarapāṭaka can be identified with Godhaneshvarapatana, half a mile from Sadashivapura, which is part of Jajpur town.

[116]The rule of several queens of this dynasty was apparently occasioned by the absence of male heirs, although the accession of Pṛthivīmahādevī seems to have had something to do with the intervention of her Somavaṁśī father.

refer to her as the daughter of Svabhāvatuṅga of the Śītāṁśu vaṁśa (lunar lineage) and lord of Kosala. A matrimonial alliance with the Bhañjas is indicated by the Taltali plates of the Bhauma queen Dharmamahādevī, which refer to Valkulamahādevī, the predecessor of Dharmamahādevī, as belonging to the Bhañja family. The Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvana-mahādevī I refers to the marriage of Bhauma-Kara king Lalitāhāra with the daughter of Rājamalladeva. Panigrahi identifies this Rājamalla with the western Gaṅga king Rājamalla I (AD 817-853).[117]

A few inscriptions indicate the existence of Bhauma-Kara feudatories whose names appear as the vijñāpti, i.e. the person at whose request the grant was made. These include Pulindarāja, referred to in the Hindol plate of Śubhākaradeva, and rāṇaka Vinītatuṅga, referred to in the two Talcher plates of Śivakaradeva. The vijñāpti of one of the Baud plates of Tribhuvanamahādevī was one Śaśilekhā, described as the wife of mahāmaṇḍalādhipati[118] Maṅgaleśvara (apparently a Bhauma-Kara feudatory) and as born in the Virāṭa family and married into the Vrāgaḍi family. The Santiragrama plate of Daṇḍimahādevī states that the grant was made at the request of rāṇaka Apsarodeva, lord of Yamagartā maṇḍala.[119] Bhauma-Kara rule was brought to an end during the tenth century by the Somavaṁśīs.

PERIOD III: THE TENTH TO THE MID-TWELFTH CENTURY

North and Central Orissa

Between roughly the tenth and twelfth century AD, epigraphic evidence indicates the rule in parts of north and central Orissa of a series of kings whose names end in the suffix 'Bhañja.' The relationship between the various groups of Bhañja kings is not clear; they may represent collateral ruling houses or a series of different lineages with a common clan affiliation. A link of this sort may be made between the Bhañjas of Dhṛtipura and the Ādi-Bhañjas, on the grounds that their inscriptions allude to the miraculous birth of the progenitor of the family from the egg of a pea-hen, even though the Ādi-Bhañja inscriptions give a more elaborate version of the episode.

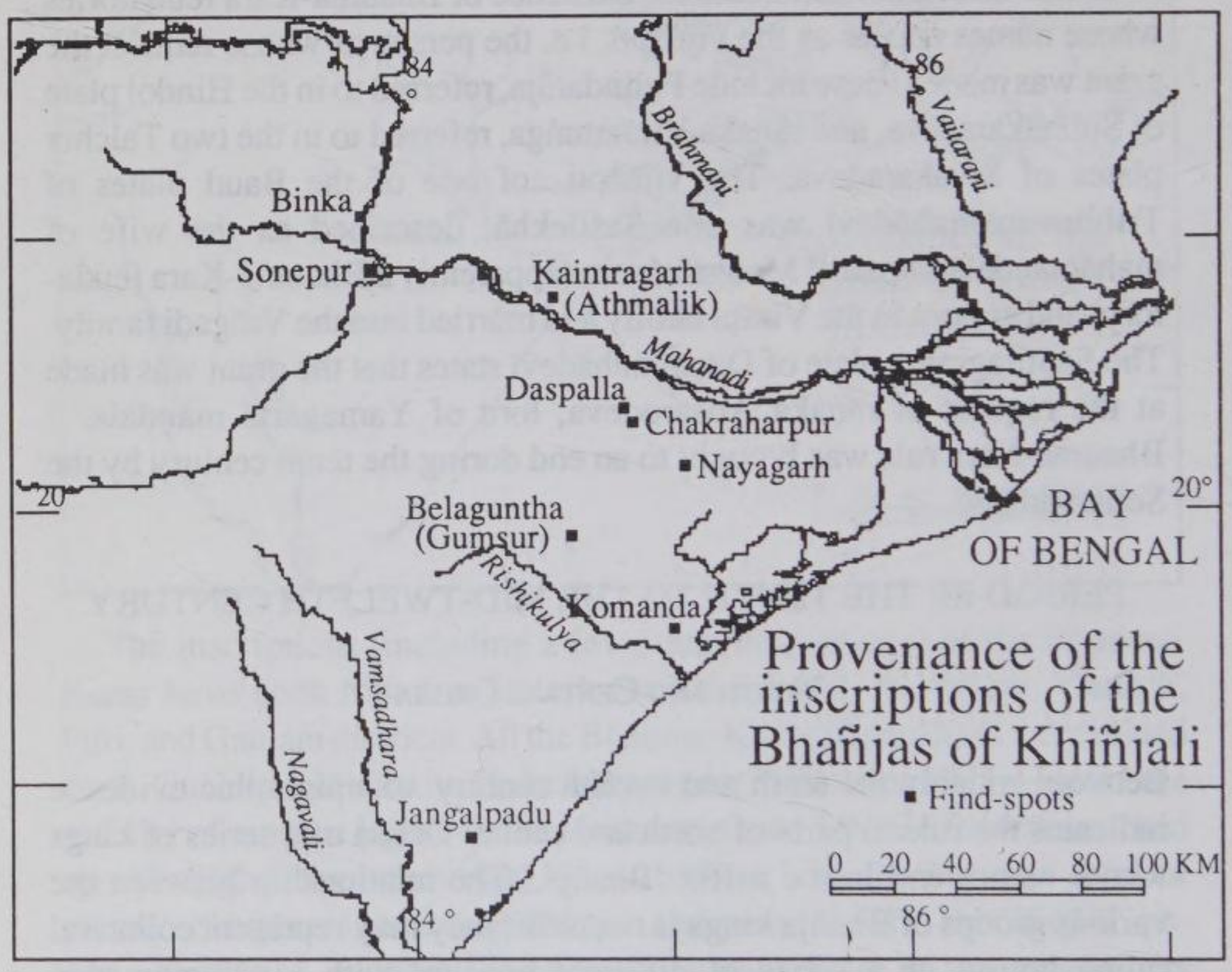
[117]Panigrahi, [357], pp. 27-29.

[118]Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati was the title of the ruler or governor of the territorial unit known as the maṇḍala (see Sircar, [486], pp. 179-80).

[119]The specific term 'vijñāpti' does not occur in this case.

The Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

The Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala (referred to in some of the inscriptions as Ubhaya-Khiñjali or the two Khiñjalis) are known from a series of copperplate grants, the early ones issued from Dhṛtipura and the later ones from Vañjulvaka. Consequently, Śatrubhañja and Raṇabhañja whose grants were issued from Dhṛtipura are often referred to as the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala, while their successors who ruled from Vañjulvaka are described as the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala.



The find-spots of the inscriptions of the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali maṇḍala lie in Balangir, Dhenkanal, Phulabani, and Puri districts. This gives a rough idea of the area ruled by these kings, the precise geographical connotations of the term Khiñjali-maṇḍala being difficult to ascertain.[120]

[120]Banerji ([28], 1, p. 166) identifies the two Khiñjalis with the territory on both side of the Mahanadi river. According to Hiralal ([187], pp. 288-89; [185], pp. 113-16), Khiñjali corresponds to modern Keonjhar (Kendujhar). Misra ([309], p. 105) identifies north Khiñjali with Hijjali in Angul, and south Khiñjali with Khijaripara in Baudh. According to Sircar ([474], pp. 225-26), it is possible that Khiñjali was originally the name of a tract comprising parts of Baudh, Sonepur, and Keonjhar regions, over which these Bhañjas initially ruled, and that the same term continued to denote their territory when they moved into the Ganjam area.

Śatrubhañja, the son of Śrī Śilābhañja alias Śrī Āṅgaddi, is not endowed with any royal titles in his inscriptions. His son Raṇabhañja bears the epithets rāṇaka, samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda (one who has obtained the five sounds), mahāsāmanta-vandita (worshipped by the mahāsāmantas), and Ubhaya-Khiñjaly-ādhipati (lord of the two Khiñjalis) till late in his reign, when in the Baud plates dated in his 54th and 58th regnal years, he is given the title of mahārāja. Both Śatrubhañja and his son Raṇabhañja are described in their inscriptions as belonging to the egg-born lineage or the lineage whose progenitor was born of an egg (aṇḍaja-vaṁśa-prabhava). The matrimonial relations between the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali and the Kadambas of Karnataka are indicated by the Patna plates of the time of Raṇabhañja, which record an endowment made by Śrī Vijyā (Vidyā), daughter of rāṇaka Niyārnama and probably a wife of Raṇabhañja. Niyārnama has been identified with the Kadamba ruler Nīyārṇava.[121]

The Bhañjas of Khiñjali maṇḍala seem to have been displaced from their original territory by the Somavaṁśīs during the reign of Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa. Judging from the provenance of their inscriptions, they moved into the Puri-Ganjam area, issuing their copperplate charters from Vañjulvaka. Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa and Śilabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa, the first two Bhañja kings to issue their grants from Vañjulvaka, are not endowed with any royal titles, and their successors claimed no title higher than rāṇaka and mahārāja. D.C. Sircar suggests that the Bhañjas of Vañjulvaka owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas.[122]

The Bhañja king of the Baripada inscription and his contemporaries

One of three inscriptions incised on the sides of a stone slab found in Pedagadi village in Mayurbhanj district records a grant by a king whose name ends in 'Bhañja.' The name of the king is read as Ṭo[dha]bhañja in D.C. Sircar's version of the text (although Sircar states that the reading of the first part of the king's name is not certain),[123] and Sa(Śa)trubhañja by S.N. Rajaguru.[124] The inscription has been assigned on palaeographic grounds to the tenth-eleventh century. The two other inscriptions inscribed on the same slab as the Bhañja record refer to two kings who seem to have been roughly contemporaneous with each other and the Bhañja ruler. They

[121]This identification is important as it places Raṇabhañja as a contemporary of the Kadamba king Niyārṇava, and gives an idea of the period of the rule of the earlier Bhañjas of Khiñjali maṇḍala. According to Sircar ([474], p. 227), the early Bhañjas may be assigned roughly to the period AD 920-1025.

[122]Sircar, [517], pp. 15-16.

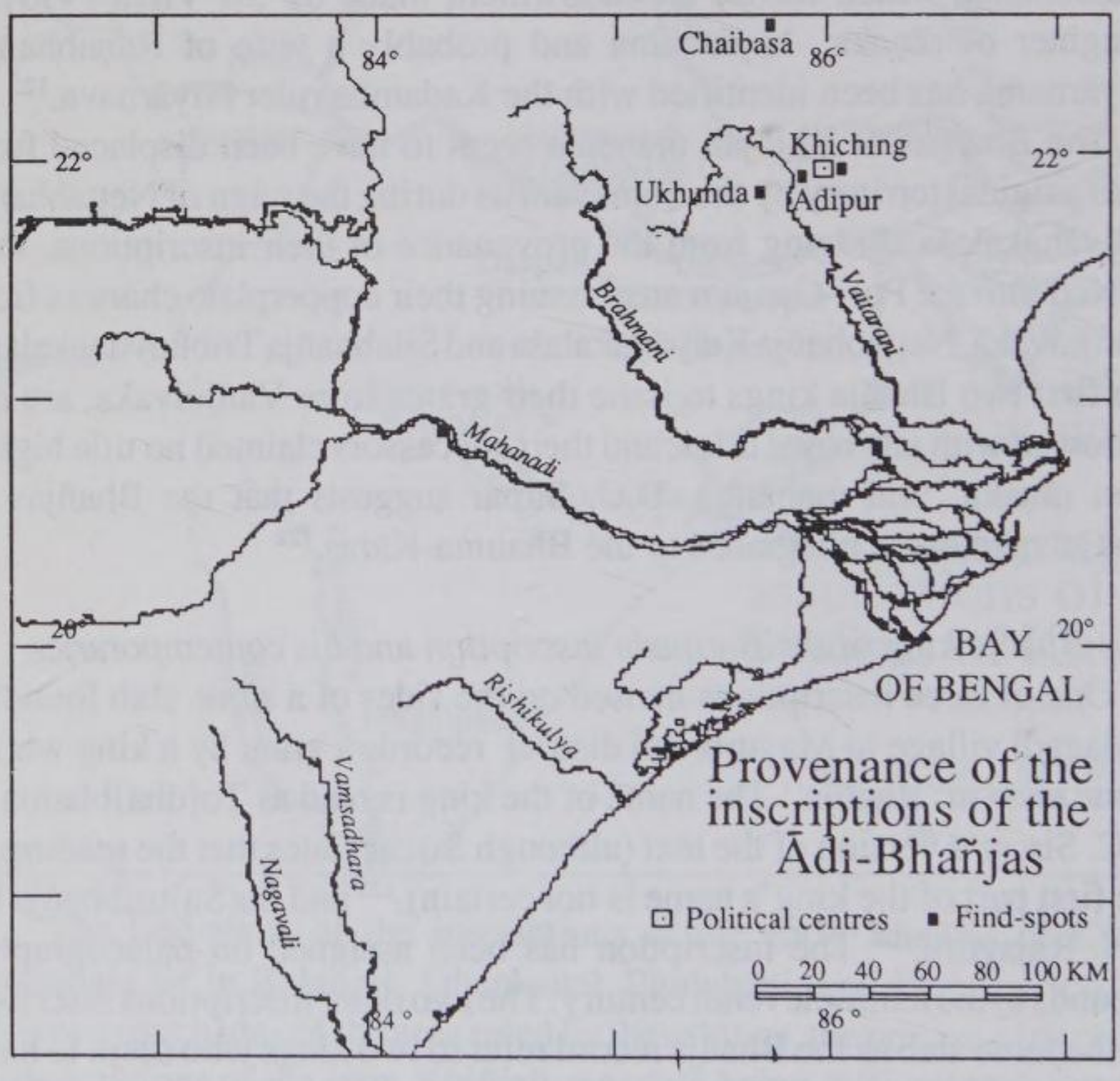
[123]Sircar, [525], pp. 83-84.

[124]Rajaguru, [398], p. 179.

are Dhruvarājadeva and Kumāravarmarāja (according to Rajaguru, the name of the latter is Kumāra Dharmarāja alias Durgarāya[125]). D.C. Sircar suggests that Dhruvarāja and Kumāravarmarāja may have ruled over the Mayurbhanj area, possibly from Khiching, prior to the rise of the family represented by the Bhañja king of the Baripada inscription, and that the rule of this Bhañja family may in turn have been displaced by the Ādi-Bhañjas.[126]

The Ādi-Bhañjas of Khijjiṅga-koṭṭa

Ruling roughly contemporaneously with the Bhañjas of Khiñjali maṇḍala was another group of Bhañja kings who established their rule around the



Mayurbhanj-Kendujhar area.[127] Most of the Ādi-Bhañja inscriptions have been discovered in Mayurbhanj district (two of the copperplates were

[125]Rajaguru, [398], pp. 178-79. [126]Sircar, [525], pp. 84-85.

[127]The dates 288 and 293 of the Bamanghati and one of the Adipur grants of Raṇabhañja have been variously referred to the Gaṅga (Banerji, [28], 1, p. 181; Das Gupta, [97], p. 245),

found in Singhbhum). Where the place of issue is specified, it is Khijjiṅga-koṭṭa,[128] identified with modern Khiching in Mayurbhanj district.[129] Most of the Ādi-Bhañja kings do not claim any royal titles.[130] There are, however, certain exceptions: Raṇabhañja's postscripts to the two Ādipur plates of Narendrabhañja describe the former king as mahārāja. Raṇabhañja, father of Durjayabhañja, in the Adipur plate of the latter,[131] is given the title mahārājādhirāja. Śatrubhañja's Kesari plate describes him as mahāmaṇḍalādhipati,[132] mahārājādhirāja, and parameśvara as well as aṣṭāśīti-sahasrādhipati ('lord of 80,000,' evidently referring to that number of villages).

According to the account contained in most of the Ādi-Bhañja inscriptions (the exceptions being the Kesari plate of Śatrubhañja and the Ādipur Harṣa (Misra, [315], p. 427; Majumdar, [284], p. 153), and Bhauma-Kara (Sircar, [473], p. 221) eras. If the last hypothesis is accepted, and if the Bhauma era is taken to have commenced, as suggested by Sircar in AD 831, the years 288 and 293 of the Bamanghati and Adipur plates of Raṇabhañja would correspond to AD 1119 and 1124 respectively. These dates, Sircar argues, are in fact difficult to accept, because it is unlikely that the Ādi-Bhañjas could have continued their independent rule in the Mayurbhanj area much after the eclipse of the Bhauma-Karas by the Somavaṁśīs in the early eleventh century and the conquest of north Orissa by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga in the early twelfth century. Sircar also points out that the numbers in the grants of Raṇabhañja are written in symbols (rather than in figures of the decimal system), and that this was a convention which appears to have become obsolete in Orissan inscriptions before the middle of the eleventh century. Sircar therefore suggests that the dates of the inscriptions may have been misread and may actually stand for 188 and 193 respectively, which, referred to the Bhauma-Kara era of AD 831, correspond to AD 1019 and 1024 respectively (Sircar, [473] p. 221). If, on the other hand, we take the intial date of the Bhauma era to be AD 736 (as suggested by Rajaguru and Panigrahi), the original readings of the dates of the Bamanghati and Adipur plates of Raṇabhañja would translate as AD 1024 and 1032 respectively.

[128]Several Ādi-Bhañja copperplate grants describe the king as 'Khijjiṅga-koṭṭa-vāsī' (a resident of Khijjiṅga-koṭṭa).

[129]Banerji, [28], 1, p. 180.

[130]The general absence of royal titles led Banerji ([28], 1, p. 181) to suggest that the status of the Ādi-Bhañjas was one of subordination to some other ruling house. This is refuted by Majumdar ([284], pp. 152-53). Majumdar cites the three cases in which royal titles do appear in Ādi-Bhañja inscriptions, and argues that apart from this, the fact that the Ādi-Bhañjas issued their own royal charters independently with their own seals makes a strong argument for the de facto independence of these kings, the question of royal or imperial titles being of secondary importance.

[131]Panigrahi ([352], p. 173) suggests that the Adipur grant of Durjayabhañja is a forgery, drawn up in around the fifteenth century. He bases this conclusion on the incongruity of the text and style of the Adipur plate with that of other Bhañja grants, as well as the reference in the inscription to Raṇabhañja, the father of Durjayabhañja belonging to the Mivara (i.e. Mivāra/Mewar) lineage (vaṁśa). The Bhañja claim of Rajput origin was fabricated in the seventeenth or eighteenth century (see Banerji, [28], 1, pp. 161-63).

[132]Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati was the title of the ruler or governor of the territorial unit known as the maṇḍala (see Sircar, [486], pp. 179-80).

plate of Durjayabhañja), Gaṇadaṇḍa Vīrabhadra, the progenitor of the Ādi-Bhañja lineage (vaṁśa), emerged from a peahen's egg at the great penance-grove (mahā-tapovana) of Koṭyāśrama/Koṭṭāśrama/Kautsāśrama[133] and was reared by the sage Vasiṣṭha. Koṭṭabhañja, in all likelihood the first historical king of the Ādi-Bhañja family, is said to have been born in Vīrabhadra's lineage (vaṁśa). The Kesari plates of Śatrubhañja expand on this story and refer to the 88,000 sons of Vīrabhadra. On account of the prayer of these sons, Vīrabhadra is said to have been protected by Rāmadeva and made lord of 88,000 villages.[134] The Adipur plate of Durjayabhañja skips the miraculous account of Vīrabhadra altogether, but does allude to an aspect of the story in its description of Durjayabhañja's father Raṇabhañja alias Vibhramatuṅga as one who was reared by the sage Vasiṣṭha (Vasiṣṭha-muni-pālita).

Neṭṭabhañja of the Jurāḍā plates

A set of copperplates found at the site of the Svapneśvara temple in the hamlet of Deula-Pedi in Ganjam district records a grant made by Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Neṭṭabhañja, grandson of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Neṭṭabhañja and son of Raṇabhañja. The plates were issued from Kumārapura, which has been identified with Kumarpura village in the Berhampur subdivision of Ganjam district.[135]

The Bhañjas of Baudh

Two sets of copperplates of another group of Bhañja kings come from Phulabani district, known previously as Baudh-Phulbani district (one set of plates was found in Baudhgarh, while the other was in the possession of a Khond cultivator of Baudh). They may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to about the eleventh century.[136] One of them is a grant of

[133]Hiralal ([187], p. 300) identifies Koṭṭāśrama-tapovana with Kuting, thirty miles from Baripada. P. Acharya (quoted by Majumdar in [284], p. 154, n. 5) rejects this identification on the grounds that there are no remains of antiquities at Kuting. According to Sircar ([473], p. 224), Koṭṭāśrama may represent Khijjiṅga-koṭṭa or a locality in its suburbs.

[134]Misra ([315], p. 423) interprets the passage in question to mean that Vīrabhadra was followed by 88,000 sages and served Rāmadeva, and that he became lord of 88,000 villages.

[135]Krishnamacharlu, [247], p. 18.

[136]According to Banerji ([26], p. 119) the Baud plates of Kanakabhañja are a forgery. Most other scholars believe the plates to be genuine. There is, however, considerable disagreement about the chronological position of the two Bhañja kings of Baudh and their inscriptions. Mazumdar ([289], pp. 366-67) places the grant of Kanakabhañja in AD 1475. According to Banerji ([25], p. 323), Kanakabhañja may be placed in the beginning of the twelfth century. Dasgupta ([94], p. 759) assigns the plates of Kanakabhañja to the second half of the eleventh

Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Śrī Saloṇa, son of Durjayabhañja who ruled from Suvarṇṇapura (modern Sonepur[137]), and grandson of Śilābhañja, the ruler of Gandharavāḍi. The second inscription from Baudh is that of Śrīmān Kanakabhañja, great-grand-son of Saloṇabhañja, grandson of Durjaya-bhañja, and son of Raṇabhañja. Both the sets of Baud plates trace the ancestry of these Bhañja kings to the sage Kaśyapa.

The Bhañjas of Kolāḍa

Two sets of Bhañja copperplates belonging to about the eleventh-twelfth century come from Antirigam village in Chatrapur division of Ganjam district. One is that of Śrī Yaśabhañja, described as samasta-Khiñjali-deś-ādhipati (lord of all Khiñjali country) and Jagadekamalla-vijayī (victorious over Jagadekamalla).[138] The other is that of rājā Jaya-bhañjadeva, who has the additional title of mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. The genealogy of the two rulers—both are described as the grandsons of Vīrabhañja and the sons of Rāyabhañja, the grant of Yaśabhañja taking the genealogy back further by two generations—suggests that the donors of the Antirigam plates were brothers. The plates of Jayabhañja were issued from Kolāḍa-kaṭaka, which has been identified with Kullada, about four miles from Russellkonda.[139]

Udayavarāha of the Bonai plate

An inscription found somewhere in the old Bonai state (in modern Sundargarh district) belongs to the time of a ruler named Udayavarāha. Udayavarāha bears the epithets mahārāja, rāṇaka, and samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda. The grant traces the ancestry of Udayavarāha from Rājā Uditavarāha (who also bears the title of rāṇaka), described as born of the Mayūra vaṁśa,[140] as hailing from Citrakūṭa, the abode of the sage Vasiṣṭha

century. According to Panigrahi ([355], p. 276), the plates of Saloṇabhañja belong to the four-teenth century. Sircar ([517], p. 20) suggests that Kanakabhañja probably ruled around the close of the eleventh century.

[137]Panigrahi, [355], p. 277.

[138]Jagadekamalla is identified by Sastri (Ed., *EI* 18, p. 290, n. 1) with one of the Cālukya kings of Kalyāṇi, perhaps Jagadekamalla II or one of his feudatories. Sircar ([517], pp. 19-20) suggests that Jagadekamalla of the Antirigam plates could have been Jayasiṁha Jagadekamalla I (AD 1015-42). Rajaguru ([390], pp. 44-45) identifies him with Jagadeka-malla alias Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva, a feudatory of the western Cālukya king Jagadekamalla II, and suggests that he was defeated by Yaśabhañja acting as a feudatory of Gajapati Aniyaṅkabhīmadeva III.

[139]Rath, [427], p. 42.

[140]Sastri ([466], p. 242) identifies the Mayūra family of Udayavarāha with a branch of the Bhañjas ruling over Talāi maṇḍala. Binayak Misra agrees with this conclusion, and asserts

(Vasiṣṭha-vāsaka-śrī-Citrakūṭa-vinirgata), and as a resident of Talāi maṇḍala (Talāi-maṇḍale vāstavya). Tejavarāha was born in Uditavarāha's lineage (anvaya), and the former was succeeded by his son Udayavarāha.

Narendradhavala of the Madras Museum Plates

A set of copperplates, the original find-spot of which is unknown, records in detail a series of land transactions involving the village Taḍesva(śva)ra. The village is described as situated in Khiṇḍarasiṁha (i.e. Khiṇḍiraśṛṅga) forming part of Gomuṇḍa or Momuṇḍa maṇḍala in the kingdom of Narendradhavala. The inscription is of considerable interest as it is a kraya-śāsana (i.e. a sale deed). Narendradhavala seems to have been roughly contemporaneous with the earlier Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala, and the Madras Museum plates may tentatively be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the tenth century.[141]

The Śulkīs

In the course of the ninth or tenth century, the Śulkī dynasty established its rule over the area of modern Dhenkanal district. The copperplate grants of the Śulkī kings were issued from Kodāloka, which has been tentatively identified with modern Koalu, about six or seven miles from Talcher, on the left bank of the Brahmani river in Dhenkanal district.[142] Only two of the Śulkī grants are dated: the date of the Dhenkanal plate of Raṇastambha has been variously read as Saṁvat 3, 83, 200, and 103, while the Hindol plate of Kulastambha is dated in the fourth regnal year. The epithet 'samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda' or one of its variants (in the case of Kulastambha accompanied with the title mahārāja) with which most of the Śulkī charters endow these kings, indicate their subordinate position vis-à-vis another unnamed ruling house.[143] It may be noted, however, that two of the Śulkī

that the name of the state of Mayurbhanj itself proves that it owed its origin to the Bhañja branch of the Mayūra family. Misra goes on to suggest that the Bhañja family probably sprang from the Maurya family. A third hypothesis that he offers is that Udayavarāha of the Bonai plate may have been a Śavara king (Misra, [309], pp. 105-13). All these suggestions are highly speculative.

[141]Sircar, [494], p. 45. It may also be pointed out that the Madras Museum plates refer to one Śilābhañja, who may be identified with the founder of the Bhañja dynasty of Khiñjali-maṇḍala. The engraver of the plates—Padmanābha, son of the merchant (vaṇik) Pāṇḍi, and an inhabitant of Gadhaṭapāṭī—may, further, be identified with the merchant-goldsmith (vaṇik-suvaṃakāra) Padmanābha, son of Pāṇḍi, who engraved the Sonpur plates of rāṇaka Raṇabhañja.

[142]Sircar and Acharya, [540], p. 112.

[143]Sircar ([482], p. 45) suggests that the Śulkīs may have been semi-independent rulers owing allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas. He bases this hypothesis on the date of the Dhenkanal

grants—the Talcher plate of Raṇastambha alias Kulastambha, and one of the Dhenkanal plates of Jayastambha—endow the royal donor with a melange of imperial and subordinate titles: mahārājādhirāja and parama-bhaṭṭāraka in addition to samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda in the first case, and mahārājādhirāja and samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda in the latter. In another grant of Jayastambha, the title mahārājādhirāja appears without the subordinate titles. Several Śulkī charters speak of the kings of this family as lord of all the Gondramas, the exact implication of which is not certain.[144] In his Bhimanagari and Puri plates, Kulastambha is described as lord of all the Gondramas with Śaṅkhajoṭi forming the borderland of his kingdom. Śaṅkhajoṭi has been identified with the Sankha river in the Sundargarh region.[145]

The Tuṅgas

Another set of rulers whose inscriptions have been found in the Dhenkanal area and may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the tenth-eleventh century, are the Tuṅgas.[146] The Khargaprasada plate of Vinītatuṅga is dated in year 161 of an unnamed era.[147] One of the Talcher

plate of Raṇastambha (read by him as 103), which, according to him, has to be referred to the Bhauma-Kara era.

[144]Sastri ([464], pp. 401, 409) saw herein a reference to the Gond tribe. This has been refuted by Tripathi ([571], p. 455), who argues that Gondrama was a geographical term applied to a portion of the hilly tracts extending from Bonai Bamra to Jaypur. According to Sircar and Acharya ([540], p. 110, n. 2) Gondrama may be taken to mean roughly the same as the Oriya 'Gaḍajāta,' denoting the area covered by the old feudatory states. Kulke ([258], p. 111) has revived the suggestion that Gondrama referred to the country of the Gond tribe, which may be identified with the Pallahara area. Kulke also suggests ([258], p. 111) that the Śulkīs probably belonged to the Śaulkika tribe, mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* as living between the Kaliṅgas and Cedis of Dakṣiṇa Kosala. Kulke does not, unfortunately cite the passage where this reference occurs. According to Sircar's compilation of the Pauranic list of peoples ([518], p. 35, n. 4), the Sūlikas or Śūlikas, who are mentioned in the Purāṇas, can be identified with the Sogdians living to the north of the Oxus river; they not seem to have been related to the Śulkīs of Orissa. The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* refers to the Śaulikas, who are mentioned along with the Paurikas (the people of Purī in the Konkan region) and the Maulikas (people of Mūlaka, the area around Paithan on the Godavari in Aurangabad district, Maharashtra) (Sircar, [518], p. 39, n. 8). Whether or not the Śulkīs of Orissa were related to them is a matter of conjecture.

[145]Sircar, [511], p. 167.

[146]It may be noted that the meanings of the word 'Tuṅga' include prominent, erect, lofty, high, an elevation, hight, and mountain (*SED*, pp. 449-50). This may perhaps be related to the hilly terrain in which the kings bearing this name established their domain.

[147]Sircar ([484], p. 92) suggests that this date refers to the Bhauma era and that the Tuṅgas, like the Śulkīs, were semi-independent feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas. The name of a feudatory called Vinītatuṅga occurs in the two Talcher plates of Śivakara III.

plates of Gayāḍatuṅga was issued from Jayapura-koṭṭa, the other Talcher plate and the Asiatic society plate of Gayāḍatuṅga and the Bonai plate of Vinītatuṅga from a hill called Mahāparvata (or a city situated on this hill), and the Khargaprasada plate of Vinītatuṅga from Rī(ṛ)ṣivāsaka (identified with Mahāvināyaka on the borders of Cuttack and Dhenkanal districts[148]), where there is a hill called Mahāparvata. Yamagarta-maṇḍala, over which the Tuṅgas seem to have ruled, has been identified with Jamgadia in Angul or Jommurdi in the old Pal-Lahara State.[149]

The Tuṅga rulers did not claim titles higher than mahārāja, mahāsāmant-ādhipati, and rāṇaka, and also bore the subordinate epithet samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda or samadhigat-āśeṣa-mahāśabda. Vinītatuṅga is described in his grants as the lord of all or the eighteen Gondramas. The genealogical portion of the Tuṅga grants trace the lineage from rājā (king) Jagattuṅga of the Śāṇḍilya gotra, who belonged to a family originally residing at Rohitagiri (generally identified with Rohtasgarh in the Shahabad district of Bihar[150]).

Jayasiṁhadeva

An inscription from Dhenkanal district, dated in Saṁvat 99 or 93, speaks of a ruler named Jayasiṁhadeva. Jayasiṁhadeva bears the titles of prāpta-pañca-mahāśabda (one who has obtained the five sounds) and sakala-Gondram-ādhipati (lord of all Gondrama). According to Hara Prasad Shastri's interpretation, the grant was issued from the family residence at Mandākinī (Mandākinī-kula-vāsakāt),[151] but Binayak Misra suggests that the passage in question indicates that Jayasiṁha obtained the five great sounds from a person residing on the banks of the Mandākinī (Mandākinī-kula-vāsakat prāpta-pañca-mahāśabda). Misra is, thus, of the opinion that it was the overlord of Jayasiṁhadeva who resided on the banks of the Mandākinī river. He suggests that Jayasiṁha was probably a feudatory of a ruler residing at Jajpur, probably a Bhauma king, and that this hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that there is a stream called the

[148]Rath, [424], p. 245.

[149]Misra, [310], p. 40. It may be mentioned that Rath ([424], pp. 243-44) is of the opinion that the Tuṅgas were originally ruling over the area of Samasta-Gondrama, and that Vinītatuṅga, after defeating an enemy king of Yamagarta-maṇḍala, annexed the territory of the latter to his kingdom. Rath bases his hypothesis on his interpretation of ll. 6-9 of the Khargaprasada inscription.

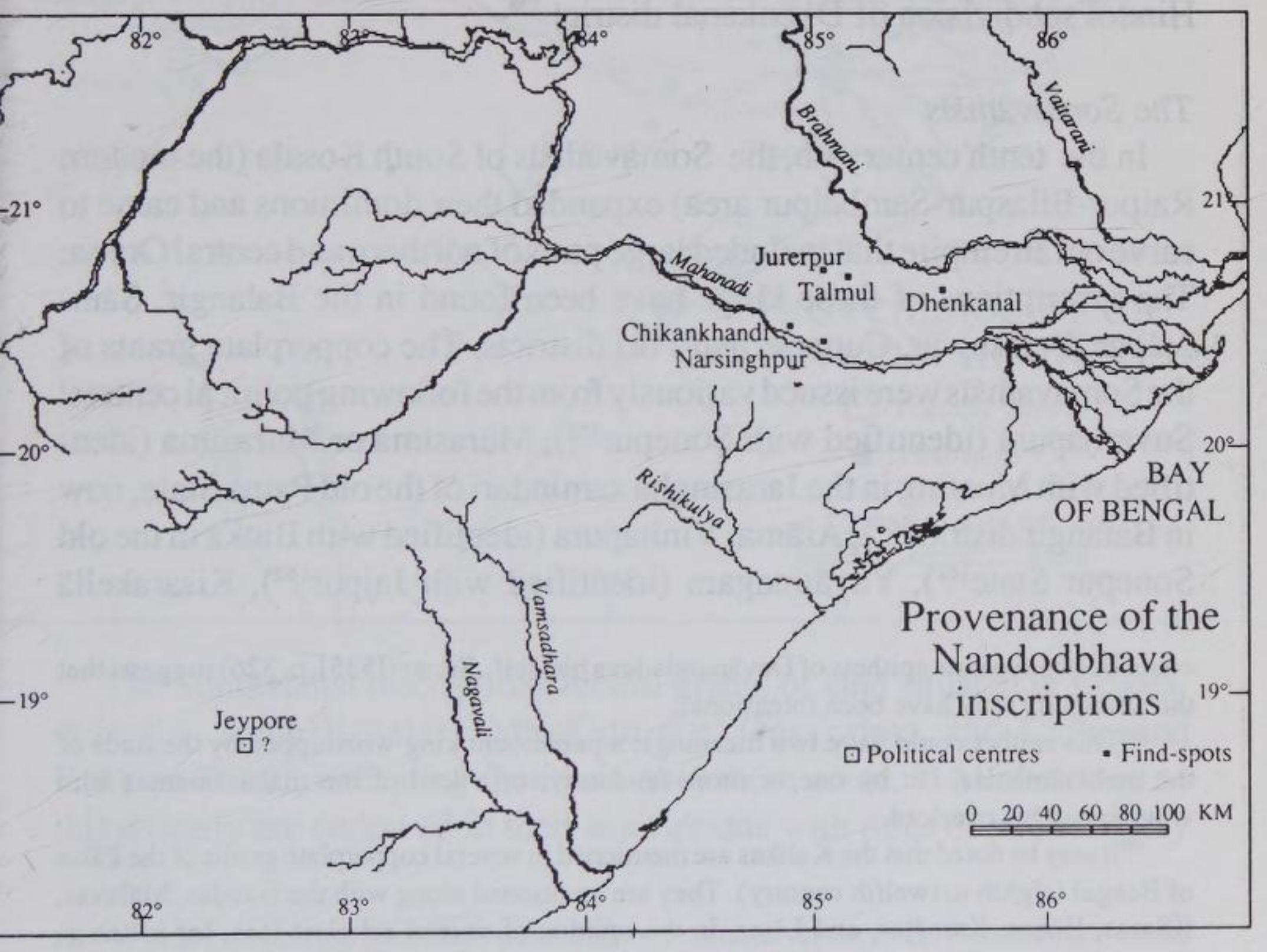
[150]See, for instance, Banerji, [35], p. 291. Sahu ([443], p. 67), however, prefers to identify Rohitagiri with Ratagarh in the Cuttack district of Orissa.

[151]Shastri, [464], pp. 418-19.

Mandākinī flowing through Jajpur, and that the grant of Jayasiṁha, like the inscriptions of the Bhauma rulers, is dated in the regnal year of an unnamed era.[152]

The Nandodbhavas

The Nandodbhavas appear to have ruled over parts of Dhenkanal and the adjoining areas of Cuttack and Puri districts some time during the tenth-eleventh century. The Daspalla plate of Devānandadeva is dated in year 184, and the Jayapur or Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadeva in the year 281



or 193 of an unnamed era. The political centre whence the Nandodbhava copperplate grants were issued was Jayapura (identified with Jaipur village in Dhenkanal district[153]). The titles assumed by Devānanda include mahāsāmant-ādhipati,[154] parama-bhaṭṭāraka-samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabda,[155] rāṇaka, mahārāja, and mahāsāmant-ādhipati-vandita-parama-

[152]Misra, [310], pp. 23-26.

[153]Panigrahi, [354], p. 77.

[154]According to Sircar ([535], p. 326), mahāsāmant-ādhipati was a title used in the post-Gupta period, indicating a feudatory of the foremost rank under an imperial ruler.

[155]This could mean 'one who has obtained the five sounds from the parama-bhaṭṭāraka, i.e. his overlord.' On the other hand, parama-bhaṭṭāraka and samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda

bhaṭṭāraka;[156] those of Dhruvānanda include parama-bhaṭṭāraka, samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda, and mahāsāmant-ādhipati. The genealogy commences with Jayānanda, born in the Nandodbhava family and described as having subdued the whole of Gondrama.

Vīra-Pracaṇḍadeva

Another ruler who had established himself in the Dhenkanal area in the tenth or eleventh century was Vīra-Pracaṇḍadeva of the Kulika lineage (vaṁśa).[157] His copperplate grant was found in Chittalapur village in the Hindol subdivision of Dhenkanal district.[158]

The Somavaṁśīs

In the tenth century AD, the Somavaṁśīs of South Kosala (the modern Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur area) expanded their dominions and came to carve out an empire that included large parts of northern and central Orissa. The inscriptions of these kings have been found in the Balangir, Sambalpur, Baleshwar, Cuttack, and Puri districts. The copperplate grants of the Somavaṁśīs were issued variously from the following political centres: Suvarṇapura (identified with Sonepur[159]), Mūrasīma or Murasīma (identified with Mursing in the Jarasingha zamindari of the old Patna State, now in Balangir district[160]), Ārāma, Vinītapura (identified with Binka in the old Sonepur State[161]), Yayātinagara (identified with Jajpur[162]), Kisarakellā

could be two separate epithets of Devānandadeva himself. Sircar ([535], p. 326) suggests that the ambiguity may have been intentional.

[156]This epithet could have two meanings: a paramount king worshipped by the lords of the mahāsāmantas, i.e. by one or more feudatory; or a lord of the mahāsāmantas who worshipped his overlord.

[157]It may be noted that the Kulikas are mentioned in several copperplate grants of the Pālas of Bengal (eighth to twelfth century). They are mentioned along with the Gauḍas, Mālavas, Khasas, Hūṇas, Karṇāṭas, and Lāṭas. In the opinion of several scholars (see, for instance, Sircar, [487], p. 133), some or all of these terms refer to military contingents recruited from amongst these people into the Pāla army. The geographical location of these Kulikas is not certain. According to Sircar ([487], p. 367), they seem to be the same as the Kulyas who are mentioned in the Purāṇas, and may be identified with the people of Kulait in the upper Ravi valley.

[158]Rajaguru, [382], p. 48.

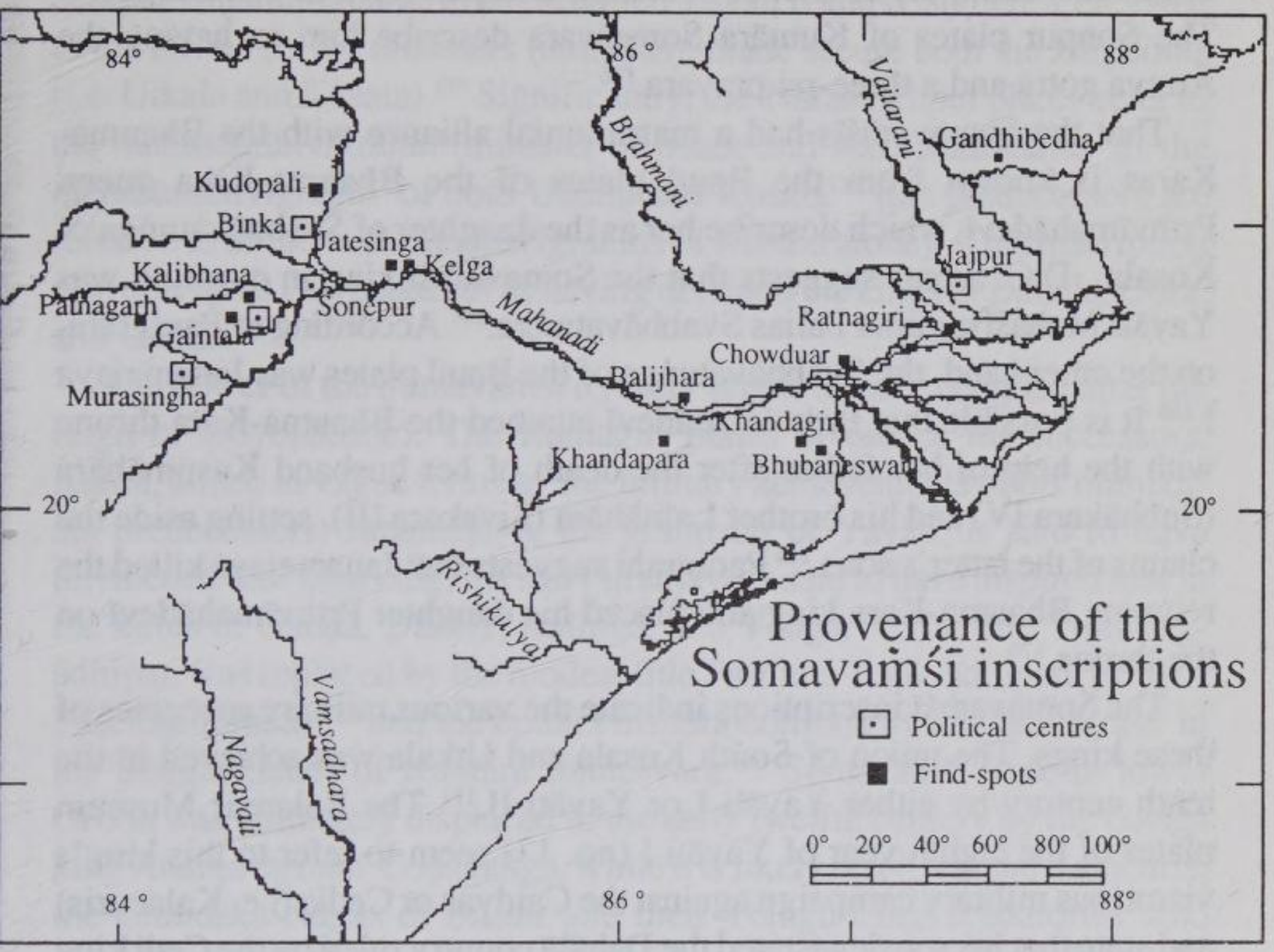
[159]Sircar and Rath, [543], p. 246.

[160]Sircar and Rath, [543], p. 240.

[161]Sircar, [470], p. 118.

[162]According to Panigrahi ([357], pp. 13-15), there were two Yayātinagaras, one situated in South Kosala and the other—Abhinava or the new Yayātinagara—established after the occupation of Orissa by Yayāti I. The latter Yayātinagara, according to Panigrahi, can be identified with modern Jajpur. A problem that arises with this identification is that in the Cuttack museum plates of Mahābhavagupta Bhīmaratha (no. 18) and the Khandpara plates of Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha (no. 20), Yayātinagara—apparently the one in Orissa— is

(identified with Kesarkela village, about six miles east of Balangir[163]), and Vā(?)maṇḍapāṭṭī.



The Somavaṁśī inscriptions record grants of land situated in Kosala-deśa (i.e. south Kosala), Oḍha/Oḍri (i.e. Oḍra) deśa, and Uttara and Dakṣiṇa Tosalī, indicating their rule over these areas.[164] All the kings of this dynasty are endowed in their inscriptions with titles of paramountcy

said to be located on the Mahānadī river. Jajpur is situated on the river Vaitarani, not on the Mahanadi. Sircar ([504], pp. 271-72) suggests that this was a confusion arising out of the fact that the original Yayātinagara—located at Binka in the old Sonepur State—was situated on the Mahanadi. Sircar credits Yayāti I with establishing the first Yayātinagara and Yayāti II with establishing the second city of that name after the conquest of Utkala. According to Rajaguru ([404], 4, p. 373), however, Yayātinagara should be identified with a place on the banks of the Mahanadi near Kantilo in Khandapara subdivision, where the remains of many ancient monuments have been discovered.

[163]Pandeya, [349], p. 136.

[164]South Kosala comprised the modern Raipur, Bilaspur, and Sambalpur tracts. Oḍra, in this period, seems to have referred to the territory lying between south Kosala in the west and the coastal area on the east (Ganguly, [145], p. 57). Uttara or north Tosalī included Baleshwar and parts of Cuttack and Medinipur districts, while Dakṣiṇa or south Tosalī comprised Puri and parts of Cuttack and Ganjam districts.

such as parama-bhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja, and parameśvara. They are said to belong to the Soma family (kula), and all except the last few kings of this line claim the epithet of Trikaliṅg-ādhipati (lord of Trikaliṅga).[165] The Sonpur plates of Kumāra Someśvara describe him as having the Ātreya gotra and a three-ṛṣi pravara.[166]

That the Somavaṁśīs had a matrimonial alliance with the Bhauma-Karas is known from the Baud plates of the Bhauma-Kara queen Pṛthvīmahādevī, which describe her as the daughter of Svabhāvatuṅga of Kosala. D.C. Sircar suggests that the Somavaṁśī king in question was Yayāti Mahāśivagupta I alias Svabhāvatuṅga.[167] According to Panigrahi, on the other hand, the Svabhāvatuṅga of the Baud plates was Janamejaya I.[168] It is possible that Pṛthvīmahādevī attained the Bhauma-Kara throne with the help of her father after the death of her husband Kusumāhāra (Śubhākara IV) and his brother Lalitāhāra (Śivakara III), setting aside the claims of the latter's sons.[169] Panigrahi suggests that Janamejaya killed the reigning Bhauma-Kara king and placed his daughter Pṛthvīmahādevī on the throne.[170]

The Somavaṁśī inscriptions indicate the various military successes of these kings. The union of South Kosala and Utkala was achieved in the tenth century by either Yayāti I or Yayāti II.[171] The Balangir Museum plates of the eighth year of Yayāti I (no. 13) seem to refer to this king's victorious military campaign against the Caidyas or Cedis (i.e. Kalacuris) and state that his son devastated the Ḍahālā country ruled by the Cedi king Durgarāja.[172] The Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Yayāti II (no. 21) refer to his having established himself as the lord of Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda, Utkala and Kosala, his conquest of Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, the Gurjara and Draviḍa country, his denuding the Kāñcī country of its glory, and his victorious assaults against Gauḍa and Rāḍha. He is further described as having attained the position of Trikaliṅg-ādhipati (lord of Trikaliṅga) by means of his own arms.[173] The Narsinghpur plates of Yayāti II's son Udyotakeśarī refer to the former as having become the king of the countries of Kosala and Utkala.[174]

[165]See *supra*, p. 37, n. 40.

[166]Sircar, [534], p. 325, ll. 29-30. See chap. III on gotra and pravara.

[167]Sircar, [493], pp. 290-91. [168]Panigrahi, [357], pp. 7-8.

[169]Sircar, [493], pp. 290-91. [170]Panigrahi, [357], p. 6.

[171]Panigrahi ([357], pp. 31-32) gives Yayāti I the credit for effecting the union between south Kosala and Utkala. Sircar ([493], pp. 293-95) and Rajaguru ([404], 4, p. 381) attribute this achievement to Yayāti II.

[172]Sircar, [470], pp. 119-120; 123-24, ll. 43-50. Panigrahi ([357], p. 3) reads the name of the Cedi king as Yuvarāja, and identifies him with the Kalacuri king Yuvarāja I (AD 915-45).

[173]Rajaguru, [404], 4, pp. 219-20; ll. 13-16. [174]Misra, [316], p. 16, ll. 21-25.

The Brahmeśvara temple stone inscription of the time of Udyotakeśarī describes how the troubles that beset the Somavaṁśī kingdom after the death of Rājamalla came to an end when Yayāti II alias Caṇḍīhara, elevated to the throne by the ministers (amātyas), made secure both the kingdoms (i.e. Utkala and Kosala).[175] Significantly, the Narasinghpur plates refer to the mahāsandhivigrahin (minister of peace and war) Rudradatta as the mahāsandhivigrahin of both Utkala and Kosala[176] (his predecessors are referred to as the mahāsandhivigrahins of Kosala alone). This inscription also describes Udyotakeśarī as having defeated the kings of Ḍāhala, Oḍra, and Gauḍa.[177]

The power of the Somavaṁśī dynasty seems to have declined after the reign of Udyotakeśarī. The Ratnagiri plates of one of his successors, Karṇa, allude in vague terms to the military achievements of his immediate predecessors: Janamejaya, the grandson of Yayāti, is said to have threatened the Nāga king; his son Purañjaya is said to have inspired fear in the kings of Gauḍa, Ḍāhala, Kaliṅga, and Vaṅga.[178] The title Trikaliṅgādhipati was replaced by the modest title Paścima-Laṅk-ādhipati (lord of Paścima-Laṅkā),[179] and the epithet mahārājādhirāja by kumārādhirāja in the Sonpur plates of Kumāra Someśvara.[180] Somavaṁśī rule in lower Orissa was ultimately displaced in the early twelfth century by the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, while it is likely that it was the Kalacuris, the Chindaka-Nāgas of Bastar and their Telugu-Coḍa feudatories who were responsible for the elimination of Somavaṁśī rule in upper Orissa.[181]

South and North Orissa

The imperial Gaṅgas (inscriptions no. 41-77)

The process of the consolidation and expansion of the Gaṅga empire which culminated in the conquest of north Orissa and its unification with

[175]Rajaguru, [404], 4, p. 246, vv. 7, 8. [176]Rajaguru, [404], 4, p. 19, ll. 71-73.
[177]Rajaguru, [404], 4, p. 247, v.10. [178]Mitra, [322], p. 266, vv. 13-15.
[179]Paścima-Laṅkā, literally 'the western island,' must have been located somewhere in south Kosala (Sircar, [534], p. 323).
[180]Sircar, [534], p. 325, ll. 6-7. Kumāra Someśvara is said to have issued this grant after the end of the rule of Abhimanyu who had been established in the kingdom presented to him by Udyotakeśarī. According to Sircar ([534], pp. 323-24) Abhimanyu may have been assigned to rule over the dominions of the Somavaṁśīs that lay in south Kosala by Udyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta IV, the latter continuing to rule over Utkala. He argues that the purpose of this arrangemant may have been to safeguard the Somavaṁśī dominions from the Chindaka-Nāga and Telugu-Coḍa inroads into Kosala and the Gaṅga inroads into Utkala.
[181]Sircar, [493], pp. 296-300.

the southern homeland of the Gaṅgas seems to have been initiated in the early tenth century by the predecessors of Vajrahasta III.[182] These kings are often referred to as the imperial Gaṅgas, in order to distinguish them from their predecessors, although they seem to have belonged to the same family or to a branch of the same family as the earlier Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara. From the time of Anantavarman of the Mandasa plates (no. 45), the inscriptions of the imperial Gaṅga kings are dated in the Śaka era of AD 78 rather than the Gaṅga era. The inscriptions of Vajrahasta III and his successors contain an elaborate praśasti which includes the date (in chronograms)[183] of their consecration (abhiṣeka) and the length of their rule. Thus, Vajrahasta III is known to have ruled between AD 1038-70, his son Rājarāja I Devendravarman between AD 1070-78, and Rājarāja's son Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga between AD 1078-1147.

Copperplate grants of Vajrahasta III and his immediate successors have been found mainly in Ganjam and Srikakulam districts, while those of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga have also been found further north in Puri district.[184] Except for the Andhavaram, Ponduru, and Narasapatam plates (nos. 41, 42, 46) which were issued from Dantapura, all the grants of the imperial Gaṅgas (where the place of issue is specified) were issued from Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam). It seems, however, that Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga shifted his capital to Cauduāra Kaṭaka (modern Chaudwar) or Abhinava Yayātinagara (modern Jajpur) after his conquest of Utkala in about AD 1112.[185]

The copperplate inscriptions of the kings of this family contain an elaborate praśasti. The titles with which this endows them include parama-bhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja, and Trikaliṅg-ādhipati. The imperial Gaṅgas claim to have belonged to the Ātreya gotra.

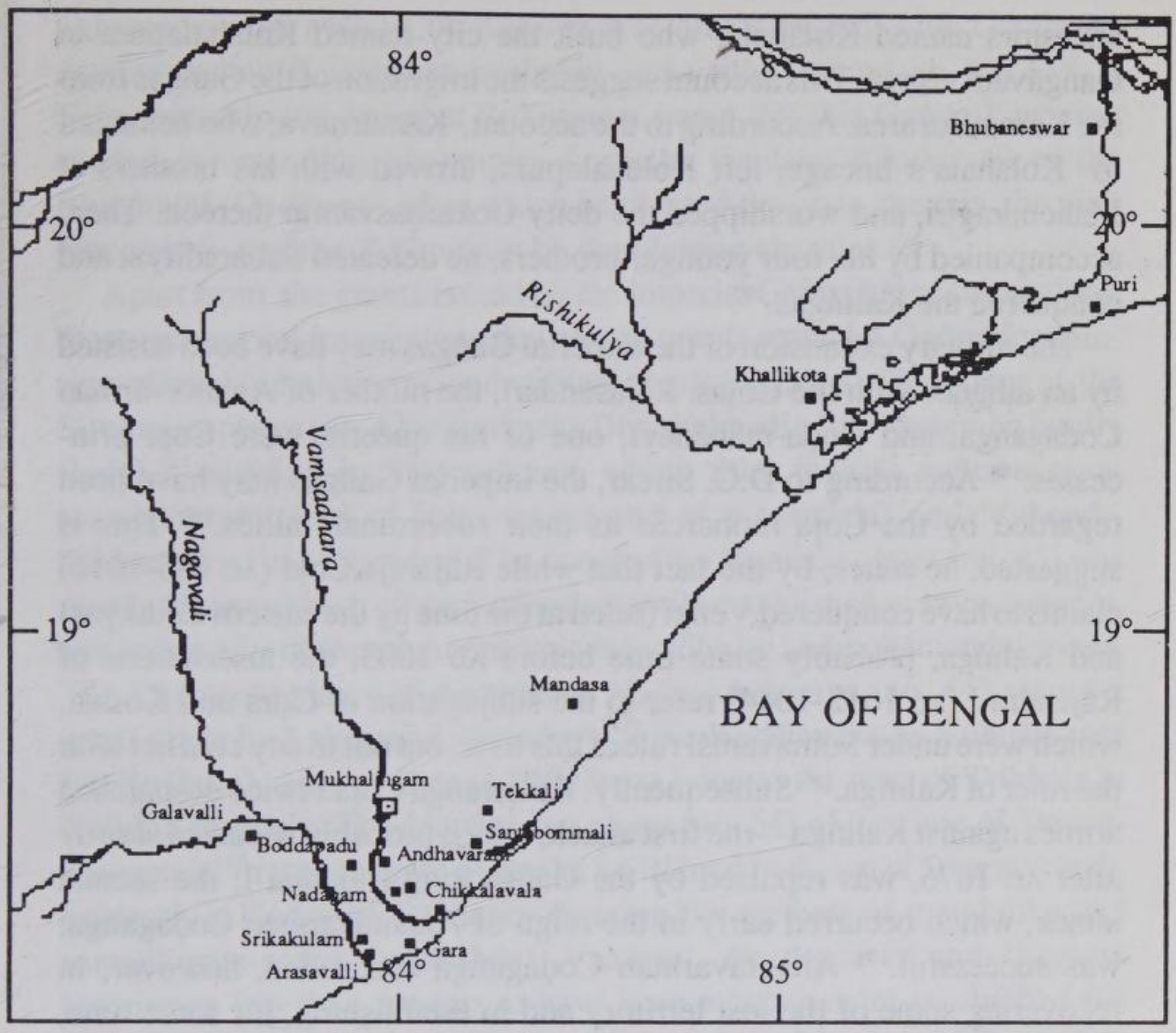
The imperial Gaṅga inscriptions give two versions of the genealogy of the lineage. The shorter version of the earlier inscriptions was amplified

[182]The inscriptions of Vajrahasta III suggest that one of his ancestors—Vajrahasta, son of Guṇāmahārṇava—united under his rule five branches of the Gaṅga family and their dominions. See, for instance, Konow, [241], p. 149, v. 1.

[183]For instance, the Arasavalli grant of Vajrahasta (no. 49) was made in the Śaka year 'kara-vasu-nidhi.' The words in this chronogram stand for the numerals 2, 8, and 9 respectively. The reversal of the order of these numerals gives us the date of the grant—Śaka 982. (On the use of chronograms in ancient inscriptions, see Sircar, [487], pp. 228-33).

[184]It may be noted that a large number of inscriptions belonging to the reigns of the imperial Gaṅga kings, mostly in the Telugu language and/or script and inscribed on temple walls, have been found in various parts of Andhra Pradesh. These inscriptions have not been drawn on for this study.

[185]Rajaguru, [404], 3, pt. 2, p. 299.



Provenance of the Gaṅga inscriptions

(41-77)

⊡ Political centres ▪ Find-spots

0 20 40 60 80 100 KM

and given a more grandiose form during the reign of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. The praśasti of two of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga's grants (one of the Korni sets and one of the Vizagapatam sets; nos. 65 and 68) traces the Gaṅga genealogy to the god Ananta (Viṣṇu). The account goes on to state that Turvaśu (whose descent from the god is demonstrated), son of Yayāti and grandson of Nahuṣa, practised austerities for many years in order to obtain a son. In this manner, he propitiated the river Gaṅgā and obtained a son named Gāṅgeya, the progenitor of the Gaṅg-ānvaya (Gaṅga lineage).[186] Coḍagaṅga's inscriptions also refer to one of this king's

[186]See, for example, Fleet, [136], p. 166, ll. 1-19.

ancestors named Kolāhala, who built the city named Kolāhalapura in Gaṅgāvāḍi viṣaya. This account suggests the migration of the Gaṅgas from the Karnataka area. According to the account, Kāmārṇava, who belonged to Kolāhala's lineage, left Kolāhalapura, arrived with his brothers at Mahendragiri, and worshipped the deity Gokarṇasvāmin thereon. Then, accompanied by his four younger brothers, he defeated Śabarāditya, and conquered the Kaliṅgas.[187]

The military expansion of the imperial Gaṅgas may have been assisted by an alliance with the Coḷas. Rājasundarī, the mother of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, and Coḍa-mahādevī, one of his queens, were Coḷa princesses.[188] According to D.C. Sircar, the imperial Gaṅgas may have been regarded by the Coḷa monarchs as their subordinate allies.[189] This is suggested, he states, by the fact that while Rājarāja Coḷa (AD 985-1016) claims to have conquered Veṅgi (ruled at the time by the eastern Cālukyas) and Kaliṅga, probably some time before AD 1003, the inscriptions of Rājendra I (AD 1012-1044) refer to the subjugation of Oḍra and Kosala, which were under Somavaṁśī rule at this time, but not to any conflict with the ruler of Kaliṅga.[190] Subsequently, Kulottuṅga Coḷa I twice despatched armies against Kaliṅga—the first attack, which probably occurred shortly after AD 1076, was repulsed by the Gaṅga king Rājarāja I; the second attack, which occurred early in the reign of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, was successful.[191] Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga succeeded, however, in recovering some of the lost territory and in establishing, for some time, Gaṅga suzerainty upto the Godavari. Some time before AD 1134, Kulloṭuṅga Coḷa II and his feudatories ousted the Gaṅgas from the Godavari district.[192]

Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga made several inroads into Bengal, coming into conflict with the Pālas. In the period when the power of the Pālas was waning, Coḍagaṅga defeated the ruling chief of Mandāra, sacked his capital Āramya (identified with modern Arambagh in Hooghly district), and pursued him upto the banks of the Ganga.[193] Further northwards and westwards expansion of the Gaṅga empire was inhibited by the presence of the Kalacuri king Ratnadeva II of south Kosala, and Paramāra

[187]Fleet [136], p. 166, ll. 35-49. The name Śabarāditya suggests a connection with the Śavara tribe. Śabarāditya may have been a chief of this tribe.

[188]It may be noted that the imperial Gaṅgas also had matrimonial relations with the Haihayas and Cālukyas (Rajaguru, [404], 3, pt. 2, pp. 382-83).

[189]Sircar, [468], pp. 46-47. [190]Ibid.

[191]Ganguly in Majumdar, gen. ed., [287], 5, p. 205.

[192]Majumdar, gen. ed., [287], 5, p. 206. [193]Ibid.

Lakṣmadeva of Mālava.[194] Kaliṅga was amalgamated with Utkala by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga probably some time around AD 1112.[195] A Telugu inscription found at Srikurmam states that this Gaṅga king succeeded in extending his empire from the Gautamī (Godavari) to the Bhagīrathī (Godāvarī), after which he pleased the gods, the ṛṣis, the pitṛs (ancestors), and the Brāhmaṇas by distributing charities.[196]

Apart from the grants issued by the imperial Gaṅga kings themselves, there are several inscriptions that record grants made by Gaṅga feudatories, official functionaries, and military chiefs (nāyakas). The donor of the Simhipura plates (no. 43) was rāṇaka Dharmakheḍi of the Kadamba family (kula),[197] residing in Jayantyāpura, whose titles include pañca-viṣaya-maṇḍaleśvara (lord of five viṣayas and of a maṇḍala) and Mahendrādhipati (lord of Mahendra). The donor of the Mandasa plates (no. 45) was rāṇaka Dharmakheḍi of the Kadamba family established at Jayantyāpura, and endowed with the titles of pañca-viṣay-ādhipati and mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. The Chicacole plates of the time of Madhukāvārṇava (no. 44) record a grant made by Lakṣmaṇa Rāmadeva of the Kuḍālavaṇa or Kubhālavaśa family (kula), ruler of Cincali Paṭṭyāpura lying to the west of Trikhala in Kaliṅga-maṇḍala. The Madagrama plates (no. 54) of the time of Devendravarman[198] record a grant of rāṇaka Śrī Bhīmakheḍi, son of Dharmakheḍi, evidently a Kadamba feudatory (bearing the epithets of maṇḍalika and samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda). Vanapati, the donor of the Dirghasi inscription (no. 56), appears to have been a commander-in-chief of the forces of the king Rājarāja. The stone inscription of the time of Devendravarman at Gara (no. 59) records the gift of fifty cows by a military chief (nāyaka) named Peddallu Gokana nāyaka to defray the cost of a perpetual lamp for the deity Nārāyaṇadeva. The Alagum inscription of the time of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (no. 72) records an endowment (after purchase) of land and money in favour of the deity Gartteśvara made by Kāmāṇḍi, described as a diśāpati (perhaps a governor of a territorial unit) hailing from the country of the Coḷas.

[194]Majumdar, gen. ed., [287], 5, p. 206.

[195]Rajaguru, [404], 3, pt. 2, p. 394.

[196]Rajaguru, [404], 3, pt. 1, pp. 174-75.

[197]As pointed out earlier, the Kadambas seem to have been a branch of the western Kadambas of the Kanarese country.

[198]There is a controversy over whether this Devendravarman belonged to the Śvetaka or Kaliṅganagara line of the Gaṅgas. Sircar ([503], pp. 53-56) believes he was a Śvetaka Gaṅga king.

Summary

The political history of Orissa in the ancient and early medieval periods was characterized by swiftly changing political configurations—the rise to power of new lineages, some very short-lived, leading to the eclipse, displacement, or subjugation of older ones and the co-opting of their territory. The geographical contours and foci of kingdoms were being constantly redefined in the face of military victories and reversals.

From the fourth century onwards, there is evidence of the emergence and proliferation of kingdoms all over Orissa.[199] The following early centres of political development can be identified:

1. Kaliṅga, which, from the late fifth century onwards comprised Srikakulam and south Ganjam districts, and included the Vamsadhara and Nagavali river valleys.

2. Uttara Tosalī (which roughly corresponded to Utkala), which comprised Baleshwar and parts of Cuttack and Medinipur districts, and included the northern part of the Mahandi delta as well as the deltaic and lower sections of the Brahmani and Vaitarani valleys.

3. Dakṣiṇa Tosalī (which corresponded roughly to north Kaliṅga as well as to Koṅgoda, the latter comprising the Puri-Ganjam area), which included Puri and parts of Cuttack and Ganjam districts, and, thus, the southern part of the Mahanadi delta and the Rishikulya valley.

4. Dakṣiṇa Kosala, which comprised modern Raipur, Bilaspur, and Sambalpur districts, and included the upper valleys of the Mahanadi and its tributaries.

Certain areas in the north and in the highlands of the interior seem to have witnessed sustained political development at a later date, especially after the ninth or tenth century:[200]

1. Khiñjali-maṇḍala, which appears to have comprised parts of Balangir, Dhenkanal, and Phulabani districts, and included the middle course

[199]It may be noted that in the preceding period, few such centres of political development can be identified. In the third century BC, Orissa came under Mauryan rule. The Separate Rock Edicts of Aśoka at Dhauli and Jaugada indicate that the headquarters of Aśokan rule in Kaliṅga were located at Tosalī (in or around Dhauli in Puri district) and Samāpā (in the vicinity of Jaugada in Ganjam district). The political centres of Mauryan rule in Orissa were, thus, located in the Mahanadi delta area and the lower Rishikulya valley. In about the first century BC, the political centre of the kingdom of Khāravela of the Cedi dynasty was probably located around Bhubaneswar and the Mahanadi delta area.

[200]The few instances of political activity in these areas in an earlier period are provided by the Asanapat inscription of Śatrubhañja, the Sitabhinji inscription of Diśābhañja (both probably belonging to about the fourth century), and the Russellkonda and Baudh grants of Neṭṭabhañja (eighth century).

of the Mahanadi and the Tel valley. The Gondrama country appears to have been located within this area, particularly around Dhenkanal district.

2. Khijjiṅga, which comprised the Mayurbhanj and Kendujhar districts, and included the upper Vaitarani valley.

The period from the fourth to the seventh centuy AD may be seen as an incipient phase of sustained monarchical state formation in Orissa. In this period, some of the dynasties of this area owed political allegiance to dynasties outside Orissa. The kings of this period generally assumed no title higher than mahārāja (the exception is Charamparāja of the Khandipada Nuapalli plates). Between the seventh and the mid-tenth century, there were still a multiplicity of dynastic groups ruling over the various parts of Orissa. However, while in the first half of the seventh century there is evidence of the subordination of some dynastic groups of Orissa to outside powers, this ceases to be the case in the second half of the seventh century. The articulation of the ideology of kingship as expressed in the royal praśasti becomes more elaborate after this period, with grander titles and epithets, as well as the significant appearance of dynastic origin myths.[201]

During the period under review, certain dynasties were able to carve out relatively large kingdoms. In Period II (seventh to tenth century), this was accomplished by the Śailodbhavas and Bhauma-Karas. In Period III (the tenth to mid-twelfth century), while minor kingdoms persisted on the peripheries, the Somavaṁśīs and the imperial Gaṅgas united through conquest large parts of Orissa, and came to establish kingdoms that incorporated large parts of Orissa. The praśastīs and royal epithets of the Somavaṁśīs and imperial Gaṅgas are more elaborate than those of most of their predecessors as well as contemporaries (the exceptions being the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs and Bhauma-Karas of the earlier periods, whose grants also have long genealogical sections).

While the composer of the praśasti (the eulogistic introduction of the inscriptions) sometimes exaggerated the achievements of his royal patron, the titles bestowed on the latter in the inscriptions provide valuable information on the hierarchies, kingdoms and rulers in ancient and medieval Orissa. Some titles embodied territorial claims. In Period I (fourth to seventh century), these were Kaliṅg-ādhipati, sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhipati, Devarāṣṭr-ādhipati, and Trikaliṅg-ādhipati; in Period II (seventh to tenth century), sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhipati and Śrī-Nandagiri-nātha; in Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century), aṣṭāśīti-sahasr-ādhipati, samasta-Khiñjali-

[201]These origin myths are discussed in chap. II.

deś-ādhipati, samasta-Gondrama-nātha, sakala-Gondram-ādhipati, aṣṭādaśa-Gondram-ādhipati, and Trikaliṅg-ādhipati. While territorial titles were not always indicative of the precise extent of the domain of a particular ruler, they may be seen as representing the territorial ideal to which kings of a particular period aspired.[202]

In the post-Gupta period, the claim to political paramountcy was reflected particularly in three titles that usually occur together in the inscriptions: mahārājādhirāja (supreme king of mahārājas), parameśvara (supreme lord), and parama-bhaṭṭāraka (one supremely entitled to reverence).[203] Among the rulers of Period I, only mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra claimed any of these eminent titles, while they appear in conjunction with each other often among the inscriptions of Period II and III.

Titles borne by rulers of modest or subordinate status in the inscriptions of Period I are mahārāja, sāmanta, mahāsāmanta, and mahāpratīhāra; in Period II, mahārāja, rāṇaka, pañca-viṣaya-maṇḍaleśvara, pañca-viṣay-ādhipati, mahā-maṇḍaleśvara, and mahā-maṇḍal-ādhipati; in Period III, mahārāja, rāṇaka, mahā-maṇḍaleśvara, mahā-sāmant-ādhipati, pañca-viṣaya-maṇḍaleśvara, and pañca-viṣay-ādhipati.[204] Kings are sometimes described as commanding the obeisance of the sāmantas or the circle of sāmantas. Lesser kings or feudatories are in some inscriptions described as 'samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabdaḥ' (or one of the variants of this phrase), literally meaning 'one who has obtained the five great sounds,' and apparently referring to the privilege of enjoying the sound of five instruments. Subordinate or feudatory status was often also indicated by the reference to the overlord in the feudatory's praśasti, the feudatory being described as one who meditates on the feet (pād-ānudhyāta) of the paramount sovereign. The feudatory's inscriptions were frequently dated in the era established by the overlord's dynasty. Subordinate rulers appear in some inscriptions (of the Bhauma-Karas and the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara) as the vijñāpti (petitioner), at whose request the grant was made by the paramount king.

Titles of paramountcy and subordinate status are indicative of the relationships among the various ruling lineages. They indicate the exis-

[202]This point has been made with reference to the title Kaliṅg-ādhipati by Sircar in Majumdar, gen. ed., [287], 3, p. 214.

[203]See Fleet, [137], p. 10, n. 3.

[204]It may be noted that such titles also appear in the inscriptions as the designations of certain high-ranking officials. Thus, while some of the titles listed above had, at least originally, certain specific administrative connotations, others were more general titles of political status. The detailed analysis of these various titles lies beyond the scope of this book.

tence of a series of hierarchies of political ranks. These hierarchies were fluid, as a change in the military fortunes of a particular family could mean an upward or a downward slide in the scale of politic22al ranks. Apart from ties of paramountcy and subordination, lineages came into contact with one another through matrimonial relationships and military confrontation.

As far as the origins of ruling lineages are concerned, the names or genealogical accounts of the Śailodbhavas, Kulikas, Śulkīs and Bhauma-Karas suggest a tribal origin. The use of gotra designations by certain rulers (mahārāja Śatrubhañja of the Asanapat inscription, Pṛthivī-mahārāja, the Bhañjas of Baudh, Tuṅgas, Somavaṁśīs, and imperial Gaṅgas) is noteworthy. It may indicate one of the following things: that these rulers were Brāhmaṇas; that they were non-Brāhmaṇas claiming Brāhmaṇa status; the use of gotra designations by non-Brāhmaṇas.

The inscriptions of ancient and early medieval Orissa provide information on the migration patterns of certain lineages who came to carve out kingdoms in ancient Orissa, and indicate a considerable degree of spatial mobility of ruling lineages. The Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs came from Mekalā, the area around Amarkantak. The Bhauma-Karas possibly came from Assam. The Śvetaka, Kaliṅganagara, and imperial Gaṅgas were migrants from the Karnataka area, the Somavaṁśīs from south Kosala (the Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region), and the Tuṅgas from Rohitagiri, which has been identified with Rohtasgarh in the Shahabad district of Bihar. The Gaṅga inscriptions, further, seem to indicate the fanning out of collateral lineages, while the various groups of Bhañja kings may represent various lineages with a common clan affiliation.

While it is possible to reconstruct the history of the numerous kingdoms of ancient and medieval Orissa, the reconstruction of the process whereby the various dynasties of this period established their power in various parts of Orissa, the mechanisms whereby land was integrated into political territory is more complex. The discussion in the ensuing chapters has bearing on this issue.

Chapter II

Religious Elements in the Ideology of Kingship

The inscriptions recording endowments to Brāhmaṇas and religious establishments are neither purely political nor religious documents; they reflect the meeting of the political and religious domains. This chapter examines the religious elements in the ideology of kingship in ancient and early medieval Orissa as expressed in the seals, invocations, and the eulogistic introduction (praśasti) of the royal grants. The particular focus is on the religious elements with which kingship sought to identify.

Some of the symbols on the seals of the royal copperplate grants (for instance, floral patterns) are decorative devices, while certain motifs (such as the cāmara, i.e. the fly-whisk) were apparently symbols of sovereignty.[1] Some of the symbols on the seals, however, have a clear sectarian affiliation. For instance, the garuḍa, conch, discus, and the Gaja-Lakṣmī (the goddess Lakṣmī seated on a lotus, holding a lotus in both hands, flanked by two elephants pouring water over her with their trunks) are Vaiṣṇava emblems, while the bull and the trident are Śaiva symbols. Certain titles assumed by kings are also indicative of sectarian affiliations. While titles such as parama-daivata (a great devotee of the gods or god)[2] and parama-daivat-ādhidaivata (a great devotee of the gods and of the supreme god) do not name the deity or deities to whom they allude, parama-bhāgavata (a great devotee of the Bhagavat, i.e. Viṣṇu) and parama-vaiṣṇava (a great devotee of Viṣṇu) are Vaiṣṇava sectarian titles,[3] while parama-māheśvara (a great devotee of the great lord, i.e. Śiva) is a Śaiva epithet.

[1]The five symbols of sovereignty were according to some sources the white umbrella, fly-whisk, shoes, turban, and throne, and according to others the sword, umbrella, crown, shoes, and fly-whisk (Gonda, [168], p. 37).

[2]Sircar ([512], pp. 265-70) has demonstrated that parama-daivata was neither an imperial title nor did it mean 'a great divinity.'

[3]The term 'Vaiṣṇava' relates here to the worship of the various deities who came to be identified as different forms of the god Viṣṇu by the Gupta period. The term 'Bhāgavata' originally referred to the worshippers of the Vṛṣṇi hero Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa; the Bhāgavata cult was in course of time absorbed into Vaiṣṇavism.

The praśasti of the royal grants conveys an idealized image of kingship. The king appears therein as a great warrior and as a protector of his subjects. The eulogy of his prowess, military victories, fame, virtue, physical beauty, and learning runs as a constant refrain through the introductory sections of the inscriptions of various dynasties. As it is not possible to present or discuss the entire contents of the praśastis of over three hundred inscriptions, the focus of this chapter is not on these recurring themes but on certain more selective issues. Apart from the evidence of royal sectarian affiliation, comparisons between king and deity have been taken note of. While such comparisons do not necessarily indicate the sectarian affiliations of a particular king, they do reflect the way in which kingship was imaged in royal documents. Further, the introductory sections of the inscriptions have been examined for the roles in which kings appear—for instance as performers of sacrifices, as givers of gifts, as protectors of the social order. The royal praśasti is seen here as reflecting more than the poetic conventions of the time and more than the personal religious persuasions of particular kings. It is seen as a proclamation of power, and the idiom in which political power expressed itself is examined.

PERIOD I: THE FOURTH TO THE SEVENTH CENTURY

South Orissa

Śatrudamana

The Pedda-Dugam plates of Mahārāja Śatrudamana refer to this king as one who meditates on the feet of the revered lord Damaneśvara (bhagavato Damaneśvara-svāminaḥ pād-ānudhyātaḥ). Damaneśvara was probably Śiva in the liṅga form, named after the king.[4]

Viśākhavarman, the Pitṛbhaktas, Māṭharas, and Vāsiṣṭhas

The seals of the inscriptions of Viśākhavarman, the Pitṛbhaktas, Māṭharas, and Vāsiṣṭhas do not reveal any clear sectarian affiliations. The legends and motifs on the seals are in many cases indistinct due to damage, and some of the seals are missing. The seal of the Koroshanda plates of Viśākhavarman is missing. Those of the Pitṛbhakta kings bear legends which, where partially or fully decipherable, read either 'Pitṛbhaktaḥ' (devoted to the father) or the name of the king in the genitive case. As far

[4]Śiva liṅgas were often named after the person who had them installed.

as the Māṭharas are concerned, the seal of the Ragolu plates of Śaktivarman seems to give the name of the king in the genitive case, while that of the Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman bears an indistinct legend and a dot and crescent (probably standing for the sun and the moon). Of the seals attached to the two sets of copperplates of the Vāsiṣṭhas, that of the Siripuram plates of Anantavarman is too worn for any legend or emblem to be deciphered, while that of the Srungavarapukota plates of Anantavarman bears the figure of a conch with some indistinct emblem inside it.

Parama-daivata appears as a royal epithet in the Koroshanda plates of Viśākhavarman.

The inscriptions of the Pitṛbhakta king Umavarman do not associate this king with any particular deity. The general epithet parama-daivata is, however, applied to this king's father in his Baranga and Dhavalapeta plates. The same epithet also occurs in the Komarti plates of Caṇḍavarman (or Acaṇḍavarman) and the Baranga plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman, in the former case apparently applied to the donor himself, and in the latter to his father. The Bobbili plates of Caṇḍavarman/Acaṇḍavarman and the Chicacole plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman, however, endow these kings with the sectarian epithet parama-bhāgavata. The Vaiṣṇava affiliations of the Pitṛbhakta kings are, thus, evident in a few cases, but do not consistently appear in all their inscriptions.

The Ningondi plates of the Māṭhara king Prabhañjanavarman refer to this king's grandfather Śaṅkaravarman as one who meditates on the feet of the lord Nārāyaṇa (bhagavat-svāmi-Nārāyaṇa-pād-ānudhyātaḥ).[5] The Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman refer to him as a devout worshipper of the lotus-feet of the lord Nārāyaṇa whose chest is embraced by Kamalanilayā (Lakṣmī) (bhagavataḥ Kamalanilay-ākrānta-vakṣaso Nārāyaṇa-svāminaḥ pāda-bhaktaḥ).[6] The same inscription also refers to the king as one who inherited body, kingdom, prosperity, and prowess through the favour of the feet of his revered father who was a great devotee of the gods (parama-daivata-bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-prasād-āvāpta-śarīra-rājya-vibhava-pratāpaḥ).[7] This epithet is repeated in the Madras Museum plates of Anantaśaktivarman.[8]

The praśasti of the Vāsiṣṭha king Anantavarman indicates his Śaiva affiliations: one of his epithets is parama-māheśvara. The Vāsiṣṭha praśasti is a little more elaborate than that of Viśākhavarman, the Pitṛbhaktas, and Māṭharas. While martial qualities and general virtues are aspects empha-

[5]Sircar, [498], p. 117, l. 1.
[6]Subrahmanyam, [561], p. 178, ll. 1-2.
[7]Subrahmanyam, [561], p.178, ll. 3-4.
[8]Venkataramayya, [575], p. 235, ll. 1-2.

sized in the eulogy of the king and his predecessors, the Siripuram plates of Anantavarman also eulogize Guṇavarman, the grandfather of Anantavarman, for his magnanimity, describing him as one who took great delight in the ritual giving of several kinds of gifts such as those of land, gold, and thousands of cows (vibhrat-bhū-hiraṇya-go-sahasr-ādy-aneka-dāna-dharm-ābhirataḥ).[9] The Srungavarapukota plates of Anantavarman praise him as one whose greatness has been enhanced by his reverence towards the gods, the twice-born and teachers (deva-dvijāti-guru-jan-ānudhyāna-saṁvardhita-mahimā).[10]

The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (inscription nos. 1-13)

Where the emblem on the seals of the early Gaṅga kings is visible, it is the Śaiva bull motif. Indravarman (I) is described in his praśasti as one whose sins have been removed as a result of his accumulation of religious merit obtained through constant obeisance to the supreme lord who is the cause of the coming into existence, maintenance, and dissolution of the entire world, i.e. Śiva. From the time of Sāmantavarman onwards, the Gaṅga inscriptions refer to these kings as having removed the stain of the Kali age by their worship of the deity Śiva-Gokarṇa established on mount Mahendra. Gokarṇasvāmin is described in the Ponnuturu plates of Sāmantavarman as the lord of moving and unmoving creation, one who bears the full digit of the moon (in his locks), the cause of the coming into existence, maintenance, and dissolution of the world, and the one who has his abode on the fixed summit of the excellent Mahendra mountain.[11] The successors of Sāmantavarman[12] describe themselves as having been freed from the stain of the Kali age by their obeisance to the lotus-feet of the lord Gokarṇasvāmin, the sole architect of the creation of the whole world (sakala-bhuvana-nirmāṇ-aika-sūtradhārasya bhagavato Gokarṇasvāminaś =caraṇa-kamala-yugala-praṇāmād=vigata-kali-kalaṅkaḥ). From the Narasingapalli plates of Hastivarman onwards, the praśasti of the early Gaṅga kings in almost all cases refers to these kings as parama-māheśvara (this epithet does not appear in the Chicacole plates of Indravarman—no. 10—and the Purle plates of Indravarman—no. 12).

[9]Rao, [550], p. 50, l. 2. It may be noted that 'go-sahasra' or the gift of a thousand cows is one of the sixteen Mahādānas (great gifts) mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (chaps. 247 ff.), Hemādri's *Vratakhaṇḍa* (chap. 5), and Ballālasena's *Dānasāgara* (in the Mahādānāvarta section). See Sircar, "Hiraṇyagarbha and Aśvamedha," in Sircar, [520], p. 164.

[10]Majumdar, [283], p. 60, ll. 5-6.

[11]Sarma, [451], p. 219, ll. 1-4.

[12]See, for instance, Majumdar, [279], p. 65, ll. 1-2; Hultzsch, [202], p. 332, ll. 1-2; Hultzsch, [191], p. 128, ll. 1-2.

Pṛthivī-mahārāja

The seals of both the Tandivada and Parlakimedi plates of Pṛthivī-mahārāja are missing. The king is described in the inscriptions as parama-brahmaṇya (greatly devoted to the Brāhmaṇas). There are no references to any sectarian affiliations in either of Pṛthivī-mahārāja's grants.

Charamparāja

The seal attached to the Khandipada-Nuapalli plates of Charamparāja bears the Śaiva emblem of a bull. The inscription commences with an invocation to the three-eyed (Trilocana) Śiva, lord of the world (Lokeśvara), whose matted hair is adorned with water-lilies, the digit of the moon, and the shining gems of the serpent.[13] Charamparāja himself is described as a parama-māheśvara. He is also spoken of as one who meditates on the lotus feet of Hara (i.e. Śiva), the god whose cheeks, inflamed by the fiery gaze of the goddess Girijā (Pārvatī), are washed by the pure waters of the river Gaṅgā; who creates an upheaval on the earth when he is engaged in sport; who is worshipped by the suras, asuras, kinnaras, gandharvas, and mahoragas;[14] and who is capable of removing the sins accumulated over many births.[15]

North and Central Orissa

Śatrubhañja

The Asanapat inscription of Śatrubhañja is a thirteen-line inscription inscribed below an eight-armed image of Śiva in the tāṇḍava pose. This is perhaps the oldest Naṭarāja image of this kind found so far in Orissa. It may be noted that this inscription has been assigned by A. Das on palaeographic grounds to the third or fourth century AD.[16] Śatrubhañja is compared in the praśasti with Dhanada (the god of wealth) and the sun. He is said to have obtained great merit by having given away lakhs of cows in several countries that are named (Pāṭaliputra, Puṇḍravardhana, Gayā, Krimila, Dadāvardhana, Puṇḍravardhana, Vardhamāna, Gorhāṭi, Khadraṅga, Tāmalipti, and Ubhaya-Tosali). He is further described as having given

[13]Rajaguru, [404], 2, p. 325, ll. 1-4.

[14]The suras are the gods, the asuras demons. The gandharvas are a type of celestial beings, guardians of soma, regulators of the course of the asterisms (see *SED*, p. 346); the kinnaras are a kind of Gandharva, and attendents of Kubera (*SED*, p. 283); the mahoragas are great serpents (*SED*, p. 802).

[15]Rajaguru, [404], 2, p. 325, ll. 5-11. This section of the inscription is damaged, and it is, therefore, not possible to reconstruct its contents in their entirety.

[16]Das, [87], p. 1.

away thousands and lakhs of gold coins (hiraṇya) in maṭhas (monasteries) such as the Śaṅkhakāra maṭha of Ahicchatraka, Maṇibhadra maṭha of Lakheśvara, and as having constructed dwellings and vihāras (monasteries) for brahmacārins, Carakas, Parivrājakas, Nirgranthas, Bhikṣus and Varṇāntakas.[17] Śatrubhañja is described as being well-versed in the (Mahā)bhārata, Purāṇa, Itihāsa, Vyākaraṇa, Upaśikṣā, Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā, Chandas, Śruti, Ved-opakaraṇa, and Sāṅkhya, and as learned in astrology (sarva-kāl-ābhijña).[18]

Diśābhañja

The Sitabhinji inscription of Diśābhañja is a short one, and only the name of the king has been deciphered.

Gopacandra

The seal of the Jayarampur plate of the time of Mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra appears to bear the emblem of a bull. Gopacandra is referred to in the inscription as a parama-māheśvara. The inscription speaks of Dhanacandra, the father of Gopacandra, as one who removed the evils of the Kali age.[19] Gopacandra himself is described as having arranged the varṇas and āśramas in their proper order.[20]

The Vigrahas

The seal attached to the Sumandala plates of the time of Pṛthivīvigraha is described as bearing the toraṇa (arched gateway) emblem and the legend

[17]The Carakas were celibates—but not necessarily ascetics —who engaged in philosophical discussion and disputation; Parivrājaka was a generic term for wandering mendicants; the Nirgranthas were the followers of Nigantha Nātaputa and practised severe asceticism; the term bhikṣu was a generic term for ascetics, but was specially associated with the members of the Buddhist monastic order (Bhagat, [50], pp. 64, 142, 146, 148, 165-66, 216). The meaning of the term Varṇāntaka is not clear.

[18]Das, [87], pp. 4-5. It may be pointed out that the reading of the text of this inscription is not authoritative. Das admits that there are certain "doubtful and unintelligible portions" in the inscription, and describes the text given in his article as a hurried reading made by Rajaguru.

[19]Rajaguru, [384], p. 226, ll. 5-6.

[20]Rajaguru, [384], p. 226, ll. 6-7. The varṇas refer to the classical Indian division of society into four classes—Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras. The āśramas—the idealized model of the four stages in the life of a twice-born man—were brahmacarya (the stage of celibate studentship), gṛhastha (the householder stage), vāṇaprastha (the anchorite stage), and saṁnyāsa (the stage of complete renunciation). The reference to the king as maintainer of the order of the varṇas and āśramas signifies his maintenance of the ideal brahmanical social order.

'Mahārāja Dharmma.'[21] Only a small lump remains of the seal of the Kanas plate of Lokavigraha. The donor of the Sumandala plates, a feudatory of Pṛthivīvigraha named Dharmarāja, is described as a worshipper of the sun god (sahasra-raśmi-pāda-bhaktaḥ). Lokavigraha of the Kanas plate has the title of parama-daivat-ādhidaivata.

The Mudgalas/Mānas

The seals of the Erbang plate of Śambhuyaśas and of the Patiakella plate of Śambhuyaśas' feudatory Śivarāja are too worn for any legend or emblem to be discerned, while that of the Soro plate of Śambhuyaśas is missing. Mahārāja Śambhuyaśas is not endowed with any epithets indicating sectarian affiliation. In both the Erbang and Soro plates, he is referred to as parama-daivata-bappa-pād-ānudhyāta (meditating on the feet of his father, a great devotee of the gods). The Patiakella plate of Śivarāja, however, describes Śambhuyaśas as a parama-māheśvara as well as parama-daivat-ādhidaivata. Śivarāja is described as one whom the accumulation of sins of the Kali age could not approach by virtue of his having obtained from the lotus-feet of his overlord the spotless position of the ruler of the earth.[22]

Feudatories of Śaśāṅka: Śubhakīrti and the Dattas

The seal of the Midnapore plate of Śubhakīrti is described as bearing in relief the figure of a vase on a flat pedestal, with a few wavy lines on each side, and the legend 'Tāvīr-ādhikaraṇasya' ('of the Tāvīra adhikaraṇa,' i.e. administrative office) on top. The Midnapore plate eulogizes Śubhakīrti as well as his overlord Śaśāṅka. The inscription describes the illustrious maḥāpratīhāra Śubhakīrti as ruling Daṇḍabhukti like a father, as one whose crest-jewel shines on account of the light emanating from the nails of his overlord's feet, as one who distinguishes just from unjust in accordance with the Dharmaśāstras, and as one who is free from sin.[23]

The seal of the Midnapore plate of Somadatta is similar to that attached to the plate of Śubhakīrti.[24] The seals of the Soro plates of Somadatta, and the Kanas and Balasore plates of Bhānudatta are missing, while that of the Soro plate of Bhānudatta is very worn. The Midnapore plate of Māmanta Mahārāja Somadatta eulogizes his overlord Śaśāṅka in similar terms as

[21]According to Rajaguru ([396], p. 66), it bears a ball-like symbol representing the sun placed on a chariot, and the legend is illegible.

[22]Banerji, [33], p. 287, ll. 4-5. [23]Majumdar, [285], p. 9, ll. 5-7.

[24]Majumdar ([285], p. 1) suggests that the emblem on it may represent a sacred incense burner amidst flowers and foliage.

does the plate of Śubhakīrti. It refers to Somadatta as ruling over Daṇḍabhukti along with Utkala, and as one whose crest-jewel shines on account of the light emanating from the nails of Śaśāṅka's feet. Somadatta is further eulogized as one possessing excessive virtues, dispelling the mass of darkness of the Kali age, and embodying the virtues of truth, prowess, skill in wielding arms, beauty and learning which were possessed separately by the (five) Pāṇḍavas.[25] In one of the Soro plates of Somadatta, this king is referred to as parama-daivat-ādhidaivata-śrī-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta (meditating on the feet of the illustrious great lord who is a great devotee of the gods and of the supreme god), while in the other one he is described as parama-daivata-śrī-paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta (meditating on the feet of the illustrious great lord who is a great devotee of the gods). The latter epithet is also applied to Bhānudatta in his Kanas plate. Thus, there is no indication of sectarian affiliation in the inscriptions of Śubhakīrti or the Datta kings.

West Orissa

The Nalas

The Nala copperplate grants do not bear seals. Arthapati is described in the Kesaribeda plates as 'Maheśvara-Mahāsen-ātisṛṣṭa-rājya-vibhavaḥ.'[26] This epithet may be taken to mean 'one upon whom the glory of royalty has been bestowed by Maheśvara (Śiva) and Mahāsena (Skanda-Kārttikeya).' It may also signify that the king dedicated his kingdom and his wealth to these gods.[27]

While the early Nala kings, thus, were Śaivas, the later kings Skanda-varman and Vilāsatuṅga were Vaiṣṇavas. The Podagadh stone inscription of Skandavarman, which records the erection of a temple (pāda-mūla) of Viṣṇu, accompanied by the distribution of a large amount of fees (dakṣiṇā) to officiating priests, and the gift of a holding (pura) for Puruṣa,[28] begins with a eulogy of Hari (Viṣṇu), describing him as the object to be conquered, the victor, and victory itself.[29] An imprecatory verse in the inscription

[25]Majumdar, [285], pp. 7-8, ll. 3-7. [26]Sircar, [490], p. 16, l. 1.

[27]Sircar, [490], p. 13, n. 3. According to Ramadas ([413], p. 37), the epithet in question indicates one who has created the supreme authority of administration of the kingdom with (such officers as) maheśvara and mahāsena. He interprets the word 'maheśvara' as referring to one who rules over one hundred lakhs of people, and 'mahāsena' as the office of the commander-in-chief of the army. This interpretation is not convincing.

[28]From the context of the inscription, it is clear that Puruṣa here refers to Viṣṇu.

[29]Krishnamacharlu, [248], p. 155, v.1.

warns against any transgression of the king's order and states that he who conforms to the good path followed by kings will find refuge with the god Vāsudeva.[30] The Podagadh inscription refers to Skandavarman as having repelled his enemies with his valour and credits him with having restored the lost royal prosperity (of the family) and with having repeopled the deserted (town of) Puṣkarī.[31] It may be suggested that the shift to a Vaiṣṇava affiliation, the construction of a Viṣṇu shrine in what was the capital city of the Nalas, and the endowment of land for this shrine may have been related to the decisive political events referred to in the Podagadh inscription.[32]

The Rajim stone inscription of Vilāsatuṅga eulogizes and invokes the blessings of Hari (Viṣṇu).[33] The first five verses invoke Viṣṇu. The first is almost entirely lost; the second refers to Viṣṇu's churning of the ocean of milk; the fourth verse is in the form of a dialogue between Hari and his consort (Lakṣmī); the fifth describes the dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu. Verse 7 describes Nala as one who surpassed Smara, the god of love, in the splendour of his form, and whose lotus-feet were kissed by the bee-like crest-jewels of a crowd of hostile kings who submitted to him. In verses 8 and 9, Pṛthivīrāja is described as having been created by the creator on seeing the world tainted by the evils of the Kali age. The subsequent verses eulogize Pṛthivīrāja's son Vīrarūpa, and refer to Vilāsatuṅga, probably a son of Vīrarūpa. The Rajim inscription, like the Podagadh inscription, records the erection of a Viṣṇu temple.

Tuṣṭikāra

The seal of the Terasingha plates of Tuṣṭikāra bears the name of the king. Mahārāja Tuṣṭikāra is described in the inscription as a devotee of the feet of the goddess Stambheśvarī (Stambheśvarī-pāda-bhakta). The endorsement added onto the outer side of the first plate refers to a king named Sobhoṅnarāja or Śobhiṅnarāja, who is also described as a devotee of Stambheśvarī.

The Śarabhapurīyas

The seals of the Śarabhapurīyas bear the Gaja-Lakṣmī motif. Other motifs that occur include those of the sun, moon, water-lily, conch, discus,

[30]Krishnamacharlu, [248], p. 156, v. 9. [31]Krishnamacharlu, [248], p. 155, ll. 2-4.

[32]For details on the nature of the military conflict alluded to in the Podagadh inscription, see chap. I, p. 45, n. 70.

[33]The inscription is fragmentary; therefore it is difficult to reconstruct the text in its entirety.

and various floral devices. The seals bear two-line legends which eulogize the king. All the kings of this dynasty are endowed with the epithet parama-bhāgavata. Jayarāja, Sudevarāja, and Pravararāja are described as givers of riches, land, and cows (vasu-vasudhā-go-pradaḥ).

The Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs

The seal on the Malga plates of Indrarāja bears only the king's name. No emblem or legend is discernible on the seal of the Bamhani plates of Bharatabala. The copperplates of Mahāśiva Tīvara, however, bear unmistakably Vaiṣṇava motifs—a garuḍa with outspread wings holding (or having in front of it) a serpent with raised hood in either hand, a conch, and discus. His seals also bear a floral device and a two-line legend which reads: "Śrīmat-Tīvaradevasya Kosalādhipater=idam śāsanaṁ dharmma-vṛddhy-arttharn sthir=ā-candra-tārakaṁ," "this is the eternal, dharma-augmenting charter of Śrīmān Tīvaradeva, the lord of Kosala." The seal of the Adhabhara plates of Mahā-Nannarāja is lost. The seals on the copperplates of Mahāśivagupta display Śaiva motifs—a couchant bull and a trident. A vase of plenty (pūrṇa-kumbha), and a full-blown lotus flanked by two leaves also make their appearance, as does a two-line legend which reads: "Rājñaḥ Śrī-Harṣaguptasya sūnoḥ sad-guṇa-śālinaḥ śāsanaṁ Śivaguptasya sthitimā-bhuvana-sthiteḥ," "this is the eternal charter of Śivagupta, the son of Rājā Śrī Harṣagupta, possessor of good qualities."

The Pāṇḍuvaṁśī copperplate grants contain an elaborate praśasti, replete with Epic and Pauranic imagery. This dynasty claimed to belong to the lineage of the Pāṇḍavas, and from the time of Mahāśivagupta, switched to the dynastic name Somavaṁśī, 'the lunar lineage' (although references to the family as the Soma, Śaśī, and Śītāṁśu vaṁśa do occur in earlier inscriptions).[34] The earliest Pāṇḍuvaṁśī kings were Śaivas. Indrarāja (whose association with this dynasty, as pointed out earlier, is not established beyond all doubt) of the Malga plates has the epithet parama-māheśvara. The Bamhani plates of Bharatabala, which specifically refer him to the lineage (anvaya) of the Pāṇḍavas (verse 1), and the lunar lineage (soma vaṁśa) (verse 11) endow Bharatabala as well as his father Nāgabala with the epithets of parama-māheśvara, parama-brahmaṇya (greatly devoted to the Brāhmaṇas), and parama-guru-de(dai)vat-ādhidaivata-viśeṣa (a great devotee of the teachers, the gods, and the supreme god).[35] Mahārāja

[34]It may be noted that the Pāṇḍavas of the *Mahābhārata* belonged to the lunar dynasty.

[35]Sircar suggests that the epithet parama-guru-de(ai)vat-ādhidaivata-viśeṣa should be translated as 'a great teacher [of his subjects] and a distinguished devotee of the gods and of the supreme god' ([512], p. 269).

Bharata is said to have been born of the queen Indrabhaṭṭārikā as Kumāra was born to Pārvatī (verse 5). Verse 7 refers to his having established his sovereignty, over the whole world, as also his establishing dharma, artha, and kāma.[36] His prowess is equalled with that of Indra, the lord of the gods (verse 8). He is compared with the river Gaṅgā in his virtues (verse 9).[37]

The Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta Tīvara, son of Nannadeva, is described in his inscriptions as a parama-vaiṣṇava. Tīvara's praśasti eulogizes his martial achievements, the lightness of the taxes levied by him, and the many excellent qualities of his appearance and his personality; his skill in uprooting serpents (i.e. enemies) is compared with that of garuḍa (the vehicle of the god Viṣṇu).[38] In the Adhabhara plates of his son Mahā-Nannarāja, Tīvara is described as having obtained a series of excellent qualities through the favour of the lord Nārāyaṇa, worshipped by him in the course of many births.[39] Mahā-Nannarāja himself is styled as a parama-vaiṣṇava in this inscription.

The royal grants of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna describe him as a parama-māheśvara. He is described as the son of the illustrious Harṣadeva, even as Kārttikeya was the son of Kṛttivāsa (the one who is clad in animal skins, i.e. Śiva).[40] The Senakapat inscription of Durgarakṣita of the time of Śivagupta (or Mahāśivagupta) Bālārjuna begins with the auspicious invocation (maṅgala) 'namaḥ Śivāya' and invokes Śiva as Bhava in the first verse and his consort Pārvatī in the second. Śivagupta, Durgarakṣita's overlord, is described in verse 3 as a devotee of Śiva; in verse 4 he is referred to as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.[41] Durgarakṣita himself is described as a devotee of Parameśvara or Śambhu (i.e. Śiva) (verse 11), is praised for his munificence (verse 12) and is said to have built a temple of Śambhu (i.e. Śiva) (verse 13). The Sirpur Gandheśvara temple inscription contains an

[36]Dharma—the discharge of duty, artha—the acquisition of material wealth, and kāma—the gratification of desire—are three of four goals of the human existence or puruṣārthas in the Indian tradition. The fourth is mokṣa or final emancipation.

[37]Lines 20-21 of the Bamhani plates read: "...vedyām=adhvara-saṁsthite vasu-hutaḥ pūjyaḥ sataṁ sarvvadā." According to Chhabra ([67], p. 141, n. 4), 'vasu-huta' may denote one to whom a tribute of gold is paid. He translates this portion of the inscription as follows: "... to whom gifts of gold are presented at the time when he occupies the sacrificial seat for (performing) a sacrifice ..." ([67], p. 144).

[38]See Fleet, [137], pp. 294-95, ll. 2-17. Fleet ([137], p. 298, n. 1) suggests that the reference in l. 7 to the uprooting of serpents (bhujaṁga) may be an allusion to Tīvara's defeating a Nāga tribe.

[39]Jain, [211], p. 220, ll. 1-2.

[40]Mirashi and Pandeya, [307], p. 120, ll. 3-4.

[41]According to Dikshit and Sircar ([117], p. 32), these two verses very cleverly suggest Viṣṇu's subservience to Śiva.

invocation to Hara (Śiva), the god who bore the Gaṅgā on his matted locks.[42] The Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Śivagupta (which records a private, not a royal donation) commences with the maṅgala "namaḥ Śivāya" and invokes Śambhu (i.e. Śiva). The Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Indrabala, the son of Udayana, is described in this inscription as equal to the destroyer of Vala , i.e. Indra; his son Nannarāja is said to have filled the earth with the temples (ālayas) of lord Śiva .[43]

The Sirpur stone inscription of Vāsaṭā, mother of Bālārjuna, begins with an invocation to Viṣṇu as Puruṣottama and goes on to eulogize Narasiṁha, the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu (verses 1-2). The praśasti of the Sirpur stone inscription is replete with comparisons of the Somavaṁśī kings with Epic heroes: a brother of Candraguptarāja is said to have followed him in battle just as the one whose weapon is the plough, i.e. Balarāma, followed the killer of Kaṁsa, i.e. Kṛṣṇa (verse 6); Mahāśivagupta, who is described as an incarnation of dharma (dharm-āvatāra), is said to have conquered the earth with the help of his younger brother Raṇakesarin even as Pṛthā's first son (Yudhiṣṭhira) did with his younger brother Bhīma (verse 12). Mahāśivagupta is compared with Kṛṣṇa and Kalkī (the future incarnation of Viṣṇu) (verse 14). Vāsaṭā, is compared with Pārvatī, the mother of the god Kārttikeya (verse 15). She is described as having observed fasts and austerities after the demise of her husband (verse 17), is compared with the Vedas, is described as the shelter of the people belonging to the four varṇas and āśramas, and is also compared with the goddess Śrī (verse 18). This queen (and apparently her husband too, according to verse 20) were worshippers of Hari (Viṣṇu).

PERIOD II: THE SEVENTH TO THE TENTH CENTURY

South and Central Orissa

The Śailodbhavas

Most of the Śailodbhava grants bear the Śaiva motif of the couchant bull, accompanied in some cases by the crescent moon. The name of the king in the genitive case also appears (where the legend is legible), in some cases with a floral design below it. The invocation in the Śailodbhava copperplate grants from the time of the Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman consistently associates these kings with the worship of Śiva. It invokes the protection of the matted locks of Śambhu (i.e. Śiva) which are embraced

[42]Katare, [228], p. 233, ll. 10-11.

[43]Kielhorn, [237], p. 180, ll. 3-5.

by the soft rays of the moon, the lustre of which is daubed by the sheen of the sparkling gems borne on the hoods of writhing serpents; the ashes on which (i.e. on the matted locks) are scattered by the overflowing waters of the Gaṅgā; and which are dishevelled because of Pārvatī's love-play.[44] An allusion to the story of the descent of the Gaṅgā appears in the Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja, wherein the river Śālimā, on the banks of which Koṅgoda (one of the political centres of the Śailodbhavas) lay, is compared with the river of the gods (i.e. the Gaṅgā) which was brought down by Bhagīratha.[45]

The praśasti of the Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja Sainyabhīta speaks of this king as devoted to the feet of the blessed lord of the three worlds (i.e. Śiva), who is the cause of the coming into existence, maintenance, and destruction of the world, whose arms are placed on the hump of the great bull as on the pillow of a couch, and whose matted locks are illuminated in one place by the crescent of the moon.[46] In the Khurda plates, Mādhavarāja is described as one who seeks sole refuge at the feet of the bhagavān Maheśvara (i.e. the lord Śiva).[47] The successors of Mādhavarāja—Madhyamarāja and Dharmarāja Mānabhīta—are endowed in their inscriptions with the epithet parama-māheśvara. The Banpur plates of Madhyamarāja refer to the king being favoured by Śiva, the cause of the world's origin, maintenance, and dissolution.[48]

The Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta introduce the following account of the origin of the Śailodbhava dynasty: There was a person named Pulindasena, famed among the people of Kaliṅga. Although endowed with virtue, strength, and greatness, he did not covet sovereignty, but worshipped the Svayambhū for a man capable of ruling the earth. The Svayambhū gave him this boon, and Pulindasena saw a man emerging from the splintering of a rock. This was the lord Śailodbhava, who became the founder of a distinguished lineage (vaṁśa), that of the Śailodbhavas.[49] The Śailodbhava origin myth is repeated in the subsequent inscriptions of Mādhavavarman and in those of his successors. The Cuttack Museum plates of Mādhavavarman add a few verses to the account; the reference to Pulindasena praying to Svayambhū is followed by two verses that attribute the miraculous birth of Śailodbhava to Hara or Śambhu (i.e.

[44]See, for example, Basak, [43], p. 127, v.1. I am indebted to Basak's translation of this verse.

[45]Hultzsch, [198], p. 144, ll. 3-8.

[46]Hultzsch, [198], p. 145, ll. 14-17.

[47]Laskar, [263], p. 285, l. 5.

[48]Sircar, [537], p. 38, v. 17.

[49]Kielhorn, [231], p. 43, vv. 3-5.

Śiva).[50] They also eulogize the Mahendra mountain, referring to it as a kula-giri (tutelary mountain).

Another notable feature of the royal praśasti in the Buguda plates is that Mādhavavarman is said to have caused satisfaction to the gods by his performance of the Aśvamedha and other sacrifices, the very mention of which had fallen into abeyance due to the impiety of the kings of the Kali age.[51] The performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice was probably related to the throwing off of allegiance to Śaśāṅka and the assumption of an independent status by this king. Reference to Mādhavavarman's performance of the great Aśvamedha and other sacrifices occurs in the subsequent copperplate grants of Mādhavavarman and continues in the praśastis of his successors. The Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja, however, speak also of Madhyamarāja having taken the purificatory (avabhṛtha) bath on the occasion of the performance of the great Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices (mahā-makha-Vājapey-Āśvamedh-āvabhṛtha-snāna-nirvartita-prakhyāta-kīrti-kramaḥ).[52] The reference to the performance of the Aśvamedha and other sacrifices by Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta occurs in the Banpur and Nivina plates of his grandson Dharmarāja.[53] In the Ranapur plates of this king, reference is made to the performance of the Aśvamedha and other sacrifices by Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta, and the donor Dharmarāja is described as the grandson of one who took the purificatory bath after the performance of the great sacrifices (mahāmakha)—the Vājapeya and Aśvamedha.[54] These two sets of references occur in the Kondedda and Puri plates of Dharmarāja as well.[55] The Caṇḍeśwar plates of the same king, however, while referring to the performance of the Aśvamedha and other sacrifices by Mādhavarāja Śrīnivāsa, also credit Dharmarāja with having taken the purificatory bath on the occasion of the performance of the Vājapeya and Aśvamedha.[56] According to D.C. Sircar, since the rest of the Śailodbhava inscriptions unanimously ascribe the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice to Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta alias Śrīnivāsa, the reference in the Caṇḍeśwar inscription should not be taken to indicate that Dharmarāja performed another Aśvamedha. He suggests that both Madhyamarāja and Dharmarāja may have taken part in the Aśvamedha sacrifice performed by Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta and taken the purifi-

[50]Majumdar, [274], p. 152, ll. 11-12.

[51]Kielhorn, [231], p. 44, v. 11.

[52]Banerji, [32], p. 286, ll. 38-39.

[53]Chakravarti, [63], p. 39, v. 10; Sircar, [537], p. 37, v. 12.

[54]Rajaguru, [404], 1, pt. 2, p. 219, ll. 18-20; p. 220, ll. 40-41.

[55]Gupta, [174], p. 268, v. 9; p. 269, l. 43; Rajaguru, [393], p. 179, ll. 18-20; p. 18, ll. 41-42.

[56]Sircar, [531], p. 271, ll. 8-11; p. 272, ll. 21-22.

catory bath on that occasion.[57] Whether the successors of Madhyamarāja participated in the Aśvamedha sacrifice of Mādhavavarman, or whether they performed this and the Vājapeya sacrifice themselves, the consistency with which the Śailodbhava praśasti associates the kings of this dynasty with the great śrauta sacrifices is significant.

Certain other epithets that appear in the Śailodbhava praśasti are noteworthy. One of the epithets of Mādhavavarman in the Ganjam plates is parama-brahmaṇya.[58] The eulogy of this king in the Buguda plates compares him with Śiva and refers to his having cleansed the impurities of the Kali age.[59] This inscription speaks of the king's father Ayaśobhīta as having purged, by means of his illustrious deeds, the accumulated stain on the mirror of the Kali age.[60] The Cuttack museum plates of Mādhavavarman refer to Śailodbhava ruling over his good and wicked subjects as if dharma itself.[61] The Banpur plates of Madhyamarāja compare the king with Śambhu (i.e. Śiva).[62] His feats of archery are compared with those of the son of Pṛthā, i.e. Arjuna;[63] he is said to have been able to run with two stout persons on his shoulders, like Hanumān.[64] Dharmarāja is said to be learned in all the śāstras (sakala-śāstra-viśeṣa-vedaḥ),[65] and one who listened devoutly to the tales of Śiva's dazzling deeds,[66] and engaged in discussions of dharma amidst Brāhmaṇas.[67] His fame is described as encompassing the earth as did the feet of Hari (Viṣṇu).[68] His exploits are compared with those of the enemy of Krauñca, i.e. Kārttikeya.[69]

Neṭṭabhañja

The seal on the Baud plates of Neṭṭabhañja bears the figure of a seated lion, while that on the Russellkonda plates is too worn for any emblem to be discerned. Both sets of inscriptions begin with an invocation to Śiva. The Baud plates invoke the protection of the many-coloured matted locks of Sthānu (Śiva) which are adorned with the crescent moon, gems, and serpents.[70] The Russellkonda plates invoke Śaṅkara (Śiva), the god who wears a digit of the crescent moon in his matted locks, who is adorned with

[57]Sircar, [531], p. 270.
[58]Hultzsch, [198], p. 145, l. 17.
[59]Kielhorn, [231], p. 43, ll. 4-7.
[60]Kielhorn, [231], p. 44, ll. 20-22. This reference occurs in other Śailodbhava inscriptions as well.
[61]Majumdar, [274], p. 152, ll. 13-14.
[62]Sircar, [537], p. 38, v. 16.
[63]Sircar, [537], p. 38, ll. 44-45.
[64]Sircar, [537], p. 38, v. 19.
[65]Gupta, [174], p. 268, ll. 26-27.
[66]Gupta, [174], p. 269, ll. 30-31.
[67]Gupta, [174], p. 269, ll. 31-32.
[68]Gupta, [174], p. 269, ll. 27-28.
[69]Gupta, [174], p. 269, ll. 32.
[70]Misra, [309], pp. 113-14, ll. 1-6.

a necklace of skulls and a bracelet of writhing serpents.[71] The conventional description of Angulapattana in the Baud plates includes it being inhabited by many learned Brāhmaṇas,[72] while that of Vārāḍḍā in the Russellkonda plates includes it being endowed with gardens attached to temples.[73] In the Baud plates, Neṭṭabhañja is described as a parama-māheśvara,[74] while in the Russellkonda plates, he bears this and the additional epithet of parama-brahmaṇya.[75]

The Gaṅgas of Śvetaka

The motifs that appear on the seals of the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka are the couchant bull, crescent, and lotus. All these kings bear the epithet parama-māheśvara. Their Śaiva affiliations are also indicated by the reference in their praśasti to their having acquired a store of merit through the worship of the lotus feet of Śrī Gokarṇeśvara-svāmin, the lord of moving and unmoving creation, who wears the crest-ornament of the half-moon, who is the cause of the coming into existence, maintenance, and dissolution of the world, and who resides on the summit of the Mahendra mountain.

The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (inscription nos. 14-40)

The seals of the Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga kings of inscription nos. 14-40 bear the motifs of the couchant bull and crescent, as also in some cases a floral device. Some of the seals bear additional motifs—for instance, the seal of the Santha Bomvalli plates of Nandavarman (no. 20) includes the emblems of the bull, conch shell, and chowries. The seal of the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman (no. 26) bears the motif of a seated bull with a garland round its neck, a crescent, an elephant goad (aṅkuśa), and a fish. Those of the Indian Museum plates of Devendravarman (no. 27) and the Tekkali plates of Devendravarman (no. 28) bear the motifs of a seated bull, a crescent and star/sun, and a full-blown lotus. The motifs that appear on the seal of the Chicacole plates of Satyavarman (no. 32) are the couchant bull, the moon, an elephant goad, and a floral device. The seal of the Galavalli plates of Manujendra (no. 37) bears the emblems of the bull, crescent, sun, elephant-goad, and fly-whisk (cāmara). Most of the seals of this group of Gaṅga kings and their feudatories do not bear any legend. The exceptions are the Parlakimedi plates of Dāraparāja of the time of Vajra-hasta (no. 34) (the donor of which was a subordinate, apparently also

[71]Sircar, [513], p. 262, v. 1.
[72]Misra, [309], p. 114, ll. 8-9.
[73]Sircar, [513], p. 262, ll. 4-5.
[74]Misra, [309], p. 114, l. 15.
[75]Sircar, [513], p. 262, ll. 16-17.

belonging to the Gaṅga family), the Chidivalasa plates of Devendravarman (no. 38), and the Napitavataka plates of Devendravarman (no. 39), which give the name of the royal donor in the nominative case.

Most of the inscriptions of this group of Gaṅga kings describe them as parama-māheśvara. These kings are also described in their praśasti as having been freed from the stain of the Kali age through their obeisance at the lotus feet of the lord Gokarṇasvāmin, the deity who has the moon as his crest jewel, who is the sole architect of the creation of all the world, who is the lord of moving and unmoving creation, and who is established on the firm and pure summit of the Mahendra mountain. Kaliṅganagara, the Gaṅga capital, is compared in the introductory section of the inscriptions with Amarapura, the abode of the gods.

North Orissa

The Bhauma-Karas

The seals of the Bhauma-Kara copperplate inscriptions variously bear the motifs of the couchant bull, crescent moon and sun, conch, elephant-goad, and floral designs. The name of the donor king or queen in the genitive or the nominative case appears often on the Bhauma-Kara seals.

The early Bhauma-Karas were Buddhists. Mahārāja Śubhākara of the Neulpur plate is endowed with the epithet parama-saugata (a great devotee of the Sugata, i.e. the Buddha). He is further described as the son of the parama-tathāgata (a great devotee of the Tathāgata, i.e. the Buddha) Śrī Śivakara-deva, and as the grandson of the param-opāsaka (a great upāsaka, i.e. lay Buddhist) Śrī Kṣemaṅkara-deva, who, among other things, is said to have established the varṇas and āśramas in their proper duties.[76] The Hamseśvara temple inscription seems to suggest that Mādhavadevī, probably a wife of Śubhākara, was inclined towards Śaivism. The Chaurasi plate of Śivakara does not endow this king with any sectarian titles. The Terundia plate of Śubhākara II describes him as a parama-saugata, and refers to him as one who established in strict accordance with the śāstras the pristine order of the varṇas and āśramas as it prevailed in the Kṛta yuga.[77] Śubhākara II's father, Śivakara, is described as śrī-saugata-āśrayaḥ (one who took refuge in the Sugata, i.e. the Buddha), while his grandfather Śubhākara is described as a param-opāsaka. The praśasti compares these kings with Puru, Dilīpa, Yudhiṣṭhira, and Bhīma.[78] The Hindol plate of

[76]Banerji, [31], p. 215, ll. 2-3.
[77]Sircar, [523], p. 215, ll. 8-9.
[78]Sircar, [523], p. 215, ll. 8, 10, 11.

Śubhākara describes this king's grandfather, also named Śubhākara, as a parama-saugata. It compares his father Śāntikara with the god of wealth in his munificence.[79] The same inscription praises Śubhākara as delighting everyone with his gifts of wealth, as having acquired the profound knowledge of the essence of all the Āgamāntas, and as one who was free from the evils of the Kali age.[80] The Dharakota plate of Śubhākara contains the same references.

The subsequent Bhauma-Kara kings were affiliated to brahmanical religion, some describing themselves as devout worshippers of Viṣṇu, others of Śiva. Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Dhenkanal plate (no. 11) is described as a parama-vaiṣṇavī, and is compared in her praśasti with the goddesses Kātyāyanī and Śrī.[81] This inscription refers to the erstwhile Bhauma kings as having exhausted their entire treasury in the furtherance of dharma and as having adorned the face of the earth with various monasteries (maṭhas), pleasure gardens (vihāras), and palaces (prāsādas).[82] The Talcher plate of Śubhakara (IV) of the year 141 (no. 12) refers to this king as a parama-māheśvara, and as one whose faculty for understanding the Śāstras was manifest in his childhood speech.[83] The same inscription describes the queen Tribhuvanamahādevī as one whose head was sanctified by the dust of the lotus-feet of Hari (Viṣṇu), and as one who, on death, attained the feet of Hari which she had worshipped with unparalleled devotion during her lifetime.[84] The Bhauma king Kusumāhāra is described in the Talcher plate as an incarnation (avatāra) of Bharata, Bhagadatta, and Bhagīratha.[85] The Śivakara of the two Talcher plates (nos. 13, 14) of the year 149 was a parama-māheśvara.[86] Gayāḍa's greatness is compared with that of Vaikuṇṭha (Viṣṇu).[87] Tribhuvanamahādevī of the two Baud plates (nos. 15 and 16) was a parama-vaiṣṇavī.[88] Daṇḍimahādevī of the two Ganjam plates, the Santiragrama plate, and the Kumurang plate (nos. 17, 18, 19, 20) was a parama-māheśvarī.[89] She is described as the support of

[79]Sircar, [523], p. 215, ll. 9.
[80]Sircar, [523], p. 77, ll. 11-13.
[81]Sastri, [464], p. 423, ll. 22, 19, 20.
[82]Sastri, [464], p. 422, ll. 7-8.
[83]Misra, [318], p. 35, l. 28; p. 36, ll. 29-30
[84]Misra, [318], p. 35, ll. 10, 13-14.
[85]Misra, [318], ll. 22-23.
[86]Misra, [318], p. 44, l. 19. The introductory portion of the second Talcher plate is said to be the same as that of the first one ([318], p. 51).
[87]Misra, [318], p. 43, l. 13.
[88]De, [107], p. 217, l. 22. The introductory portion of the second set is said to be more or less the same as that of the first set ([107], p. 219).
[89]Kielhorn, [238], p. 138, ll. 22-23; p. 141, l. 20. Sircar, [515], p. 88, l. 25. Panday, [343], p. 575, l. 25.

virtue afflicted by the vice of the Kali age.[90] Dharmamahādevī of the Taltali plate (no. 26) was a parama-māheśvarī; she is also described as the support of virtue afflicted by the vice of the Kali age, and is compared with the goddess Lakṣmī.[91] The praśasti of many of the Bhauma-Kara kings and queens allude to their non-oppressive taxation.[92] These rulers are also frequently compared with the kalpa tree in their munificence.[93]

PERIOD III: THE TENTH TO THE MID-TWELFTH CENTURY

North and Central Orissa

The early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

The seals attached to the copperplate graṇts of the Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala invariably bear the motif of the couchant bull and the name of the king in the genitive case. Other symbols that appear are the crescent moon, the crescent moon and sun/star, and the lotus.

The Kumurukela plates of Śatrubhañja begin with an invocation to Viṣṇu, the god whose chest is embraced by his consort Lakṣmī,[94] followed by a verse that invokes Śiva in his fearsome aspect as Bhairava, the terrible destroyer who killed the demon Andhaka.[95] The grant itself is said to have been made in the name of the lord Viṣṇu (Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiśya).[96] The subsequent grants of the Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala invoke Śiva as Bhairava (in the same manner as in the Kumurukela plates). The Singharā plates of Raṇabhañja, however, state that the gift recorded therein was made in the name of the lord Nārāyaṇa (śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭārakam =uddiśya).[97]

The early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala claimed to belong to the egg-born lineage (aṇḍaja-vaṁśa-prabhavaḥ). As far as the royal epithets are concerned, Satrubhañja of the Kumurukela and Sonpur plates is described in these inscriptions as a parama-vaiṣṇava. These two sets of plates refer to the many Bhañja kings whose power issued from their holding the favour of Lakṣmī.[98] The copperplates of Raṇabhañja, the son and succes-

[90]Misra, [318], p. 63, l. 24. [91]Das and Panigrahi, [90], p. 119, ll. 26-27.

[92]See, for instance, Das and Panigrahi, [90], p. 119, l. 24.

[93]The kalpa tree refers to one of the five trees in Indra's heaven, supposed to be capable of fulfilling all desires (*SED*, p. 262).

[94]Mazumdar, [290], p. 432, ll. 1-2. [95]Mazumdar, [290], p. 432, ll. 2-4.

[96]Mazumdar, [290], p. 434, ll. 10-11. The phrase 'Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiśya' could also mean 'for the sake of the lord Viṣṇu' or 'having made the lord Viṣṇu witness.'

[97]Mazumdar, [292], p. 484, ll. 10-11.

[98]Mazumdar, [290], p. 432, l. 5; Mazumdar, [295], p. 99, ll. 3-4.

sor of Śatrubhañja, describe Raṇabhañja as a parama-māheśvara.[99] Further, the grants issued by this ruler so long as he bore the title of rāṇaka and the epithet samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda describe him as having obtained the favour of the goddess Stambheśvarī (Stambheśvarī-labdha-vara-prasāda).[100] The reference to Stambheśvarī is conspicuous by its absence in the Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja,[101] dated in his fifty-fourth and fifty-eighth year, wherein Raṇabhañja is given the title mahārāja.

Śatrubhañja and Raṇabhañja are described in their inscriptions as delighting their people by their munificence.[102] Śatrubhañja is compared with Bṛhaspati in the Sonpur plates,[103] while Raṇabhañja's inscriptions compare him with Svayambhū.[104]

The later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

Some of the seals attached to the copperplate grants of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala are too worn for any motif or legend to be discerned. However, where the impressions are still clear, the motif is that of a lion, accompanied by the name of the king in the genitive case. The grants of this group of kings begin with an invocation to Hara (Śiva), eulogizing his brilliant third eye which destroyed the god of love, and to the waters of the Surasaritā (Gaṅgā), which descended from the locks of Śiva.[105]

The grants of Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa describe him as a parama-māheśvara. Śilābhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa was also a parama-māheśvara. Vidyādharabhañja Amoghakalaśa is not endowed in his inscriptions with any sectarian titles. Neṭṭabhañja Pṛthivīkalaśa, the son and successor of Vidyādharabhañja, is described as a parama-vaiṣṇava, as are Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa and Neṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa. Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja bears the epithet parama-māheśvara.

All the inscriptions of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala describe these kings as having removed the impurities or stain of the Kali age (nirdhūta-kali-kaluṣaḥ, nirdhūta-kali-kaluṣa-kalamaṣaḥ).

The Bhañja king of the Baripada inscription and his contemporaries

The stone inscriptions of these kings bear no praśasti.

[99]See, for example, Mazumdar, [292], p. 484 (second plate, front side), l. 3.
[100]See, for instance, Mazumdar, [292], second plate, first side, l. 5.
[101]Banerji, [38], pp. 322-25; Banerji, [19], pp. 473-77.
[102]See, for instance, Mazumdar, [290], p. 433, second plate, 1st side, l. 3; and Banerji, [34], 102, l. 17.
[103]Mazumdar, [295], p. 100, ll. 8-9. [104]Banerji, [34], p. 101, l. 11.
[105]See, for instance, Panigrahi, [359], p. 338, vv. 1-2.

The Ādi-Bhañjas

The seals attached to the copperplates of the Ādi-Bhañjas usually bear the name of the king in the genitive case and the motifs of the couchant bull (described as a humped bull in the two Adipur plates of Narendrabhañja). Other motifs that make their appearance are the lotus, crescent moon, conch, and trident. The copper medallion attached to the Khandadeuli plate of Narendrabhañja has been described as bearing in bas-relief a svastika, a bull, and a goddess.

The invocation in all the copperplate grants of the Ādi-Bhañjas (except the Adipur plate of Durjayabhañja, which does not contain any invocation) is to Bhava (Śiva), consort of Bhavānī, the omniscient lord of all the worlds, the destroyer of the fear of rebirth, who knows the various techniques of meditation. One of the Adipur plates of Narendrabhañja prefixes this invocation with the maṅgala "Oṁ namo Avighneśvarāya."[106] The Khiching plate of Mahanmadāhavabhañjadeva describes the grant as having been made in the name of the lord Śaṅkara (Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭārakam =uddiśya).[107] The Keśari plate of Śatrubhañja makes a similar statement (bhagavad-bhaṭṭāraka-Śaṅkaraṁ samuddiśya).[108] The Khandadeuli plate of Narendrabhañja states that the grant it records was made in the name of the lord Mahādeva, i.e. Śiva (bhagavantaṁ Mahādeva-bhaṭṭārakam =uddiśya).[109]

One of the Adipur copperplates of Narendrabhañja describes this king as one whose sins have been removed through his worship of the feet of Hara (Hara-caraṇ-ārādhana-kṣapita-pāpaḥ).[110] The other Adipur plate refers to him as a bee at the lotus feet of Śiva (Śiva-caraṇa-saroja-ṣaṭpadaḥ).[111] Narendrabhañja's praśasti compares him with Smara (the god of love) in appearance and with Yudhiṣṭhira in his protection of the earth.[112] The Bamanghati plate of Raṇabhañja, the Bamanghati plate of Rājabhañja, the Khiching plate of Mahanmadāhavabhañjadeva, and the Ukhunda plate of Pṛthvībhañja describe these kings as ones whose sins were destroyed by their worship of the feet of Hara, i.e. Śiva (Hara-caraṇ-ārādhana-kṣayita-pāpaḥ),[113] and the Khandadeuli plate of Narendrabhañja

[106]Majumdar, [284], p. 159, l. 2. This seems to be an epithet of Śiva.

[107]Sircar, [473], p. 225, l. 20.

[108]Majumdar, [284], p. 163, ll. 14-15. Majumdar ([284], p. 162) suggests that the reference in these lines could be to the Śaṅkarācārya, but admits that it could refer to the god Śiva. The former suggestion is rather unlikely.

[109]Shastri, [463], p. 176, ll. 20-21.

[110]Majumdar, [284], p. 156, ll. 13-14.

[111]Majumdar, [284], p. 160, l. 13.

[112]Majumdar, [284], p. 155, ll. 10, 13.

[113]Ghosha, [155], pp. 166, 168; Sircar, [473], p. 225, ll. 11-13; p. 160, ll. 9-12.

contains the same epithet with a minor variation (Hara-caraṇ-ārādhana-kṣapita-pāpaḥ).[114] The comparisons with Smara and Yudhiṣṭhira occur in the Bamanghati plate of Raṇabhañja, the Bamanghati plate of Rājabhañja, the Khiching grant of Mahanmadāhavabhañja, and the Khandadeuli plate of Narendrabhañja.[115] The Keśari plate of Śatrubhañja contains no sectarian epithet, but does refer to Śatrubhañja's father Raṇabhañja as intent on the worship of the feet of Hara (Hara-caraṇ-ārādhana-tatparaḥ).[116] Śatrubhañja is compared with Yudhiṣṭhira in his being intent on the protection of his people.[117]

The Adipur plates of Narendrabhañja introduce the account of the miraculous birth of Gaṇadaṇḍa Vīrabhadra, the progenitor of the Ādi-Bhañja family, who is said to have burst out of the egg of a pea-hen in the great hermitage of Koṭyāśrama, where he was reared by the sage Vasiṣṭha.[118] This account makes its appearance in all the Ādi-Bhañja inscriptions except for the Adipur plate of Durjayabhañja (which may be spurious). The Keśari plate of Śatrubhañja contains a variation on the account of the origin of the Ādi-Bhañja dynasty. It refers to the 88,000 sons of Vīrabhadra, and states that on account of the prayer of these sons, Vīrabhadra was protected by Rāmadeva and made lord of 88,000 villages.[119] The Adipur plate of Durjayabhañja, the authenticity of which is suspect, does not contain either of these versions of the Ādi-Bhañja origin-account. Instead, it refers to the donor's father, Raṇabhañja, as reared by the sage Vasiṣṭha (Vasiṣṭha-muni-pālita), receiver of a boon from Hermva (?) (Hermva-vara-labdha) and the ornament of the Mivara, (i.e. Mewar?) family (Mivara-kula-tilaka).[120]

[114]Shastri, [463], p. 176, ll. 14-15.

[115]Ghosha, [155], pp. 165-66, 168; Sircar, [473] p. 225, ll. 10-13; Shastri, [463], p. 176, ll. 11-14.

[116]Majumdar, [284], p. 163, l. 9.

[117]Majumdar, [284], p. 163, ll. 10-11.

[118]Majumdar, [284], p. 155, ll. 3-6.

[119]Majumdar, [284], p. 162, ll. 2-6. The interpretation of this passage is problematic because of the unclear grammatical structure. According to Misra's interpretation of this passage ([315], p. 429, ll. 2-5; p. 431), Vīrabhadra was followed by 88,000 sages, at whose request he consented to being served by Rāmadeva; subsequently he became lord of 88,000 villages. Majumdar ([284], pp. 161-62) thinks that the passage in question refers to Vīrabhadra's sons, on account of whose prayers Vīrabhadra was protected by Rāmadeva and made lord of 88,000 villages. Chakravarti (ed., *EI* 25, 1939-40, p. 161, n. 9) thinks that the reference is to only one son of Vīrabhadra, and that it was this son who was protected by Rāmadeva and favoured by the gift of 88,000 villages. The Rāmadeva in question may be the epic hero Rāma.

[120]Panigrahi, [352], p. 173, ll. 1-3.

Neṭṭabhañja of the Jurāḍā grant

The seal of the Jurāḍā plates of Neṭṭabhañja bears the figure of a jar of nectar (amṛta-kalaśa). The inscription invokes the protection of the lord Nārāyaṇa, the god who is the beloved of Śrī, destroyer of the Daityas, and bestower of the reward of deliverance (mokṣa) on his devotees. It refers to the deity's splendid discus (cakra), mace (gadā), sword (asi), conch (śaṅkha), and bow (dhanus), and to his vehicle, the garuḍa.[121] The god Nārāyaṇa is, further, described as the kula-devatā—tutelary deity—of the kings born in the illustrious lineage of the Bhañjas.[122] Neṭṭabhañja is described in his praśasti as a parama-vaiṣṇava.

The Bhañjas of Baudh

The seal of the Baud plates of Saloṇabhañja bears the figure of a vase in relief; that of the plates of Kanakabhañja is simply shaped in the form of a lotus. The inscription of Saloṇabhañja commences with an invocation to the god Nārāyaṇa ("Oṁ namo Nārāyaṇāya"), while that of Kanaka-bhañja does not contain any invocation. Saloṇabhañja is described in his copperplate grant as a parama-vaiṣṇava and is eulogized for giving away land, cows, gold, and grain, and for having had constructed various lakes and embankments.[123] Kanakabhañja does not bear any sectarian epithet. He is compared in his Baud plates with Viṣṇu, Rudra, Śunāsīra (Indra), Soma, Marut, Dhanada, Madana, the earth, the sun, and Dhīṣaṇa (Bṛhaspati), and is said to embody the qualities of all the gods.[124] Kanakabhañja is, futher, described as the great-grandson of Saloṇabhañja, who is praised for his good works including making provisions for food and water for travellers, laying pleasure gardens, and digging water channels. He is said to have performed severe austerities, after which he retired to Vārāṇasī, entrusting the affairs of state to his competent ministers.[125] The inscription eulogizes the kings of the Bhañja family for their munificence in making grants of land.[126] The Baud plates of Saloṇabhañja and Kanakabhañja trace

[121]Krishnamacharlu, [247], p. 18, ll. 1-3.
[122]Krishnamacharlu, [247], p. 18, l. 3.
[123]Panigrahi, [355], p. 278, ll. 7-8.
[124]Das Gupta, [94], pp. 763-64, ll. 17-20.
[125]Das Gupta, [94], p. 763, ll. 8-11.
[126]Das Gupta, [94], pp. 762-63, ll. 3-6. The interpretation of ll. 4-5 of the inscription is problematic. Das Gupta, ([94], p. 767) sees therein a reference to the Bhañja kings granting decrees (śāsanas) consisting of pañcasthāna, pañcottara (?) and five hundred elephants for piety and fame, to the man who asked for them. Rajaguru and Tripathy ([406], p. 16) see in these lines a reference to the Bhañja kings granting fifty-five śāsanas and being recognized by the Gajapatis on whom were bestowed the title 'Gauḍeśvara' by the bhaṭṭas. They suggest that the epithets Gajendra and Gauḍeśvara that occur in these lines may allude to the Gaṅga kings, but they do admit that the meaning of this section of the inscription is far from clear.

the ancestry of the Bhañja lineage to the sage (muni) Kaśyapa .[127]

The Bhañjas of Kolāḍa

The Antirigam plates of Yaśabhañja do not bear a seal. The Antirigam plates of Jayabhañja bear a lump of copper with the name of the king on it. Neither set of plates contains an invocation to a deity. Yaśabhañja is not endowed with any sectarian titles in his inscription. He is described as a worshipper of Rākeśa (Śiva) and the multitude of the twice-born, and as incessantly engaged in the preservation of dharma.[128] The grant of Jayabhañja describes him both as a devotee of Śaṅkara (śrī-Śaṅkara-bhaktimān) as well as a worshipper of Śrī and Viṣṇu (śrī-vaiṣṇavaḥ).[129] Jayabhañja's father Rāyabhañja is described as engrossed in the worship of the twice-born and gods (dvija-deva-pūjana-rataḥ), and is compared with Śakra in bravery.[130] Jayabhañja is compared in this inscription with Madana (in beauty), Karṇa (in munificence), Suyodhana (in pride), and Śakra (in bravery).[131]

Udayavarāha

The seal of the Bonai plate of Udayavarāha bears the motifs of a peacock, dagger, and double lotus, over which appears the name of the king. This king, who claims to belong to the Mayūra vaṁśa (the peacock lineage), is described as a parama-saugata.[132]

Narendradhavala

The Madras Museum plates of the time of Narendradhavala do not record a royal grant, and do not contain a praśasti.

The Śulkīs

The seals of the Śulkī copperplate inscriptions bear a variety of motifs along with the name of the king in the nominative or the gentitive case. The crescent moon and conch make their appearance, as do certain animals—the deer (in some cases bearing some foliage in its mouth), stag, bull, and boar. The Dhenkanal plate of Raṇastambha and one of the Dhenkanal plates of Jayastambha do not contain any invocation. Most of the other Śulkī grants (nos. 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10) begin with an invocation to Śiva as lord

[127]Das Gupta, [94], p. 762, l. 1; Panigrahi, [355], p. 277, ll. 1-2.
[128]Hiralal, [187], p. 298, ll. 13, 14.
[129]Rath, [427], pp. 43-44, ll. 7-8.
[130]Das Gupta, [94], p. 43, ll. 3-5.
[131]Das Gupta, [94], p. 43, ll. 5-7.
[132]Shastri, [466], p. 243, ll. 2-3; 6.

of the mountains (Girīśa), the god whose lotus-feet are pressed by the crowns of gods, demons, sages, and vidyādharas,[133] and whose tawny, matted locks are illuminated by the rays of his crest-jewel, the moon.[134] Two of the grants, the Talcher plate of Kulastambha and one of the Dhenkanal grants of Jayastambha (nos. 3, 6), commence with a salutation to the dust of the lotus-feet of the omniscient, all-performing, all-pervading Hara (i.e. Śiva), where the particles or atoms are the coils of snakes.[135]

The Dhenkanal plate of Raṇastambha states that the village in question was bestowed having made the tutelary deity, the goddess Stambheśvarī, witness (asya kula-devatā-bhagavatī-Stambheśvarī-bhaṭṭārikāṁ sākṣiṇī kṛtvā).[136] The Dhenkanal plate of Kulastambha also refers to the grant having been made with the kula-devatā Stambheśvarī-bhaṭṭārikā as witness (asmad-kula-devatā-Stambheśvarī-bhaṭṭārikā-pramāṇīkṛtya).[137] The Hindol plate of the same king contains a similar statement, with some addition to the epithets of Stambheśvarī; it describes the gift as having been witnessed by the kula-devatā Stambheśvarī, who is worshipped by the gods, demons, learned men, and ascetics (dānam=idam=asmad-ādi-kula-devatām=bhagavatīṁ sur-āsura-vidvāṇ-muni-manuja-vandita-śrīmat-Stambheśvarī-bhaṭṭārikāṁ pramāṇīkṛtya pratipāditam=asmai).[138]

All except one (the Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha—no. 6) of the Śulkī grants endow the donor kings with the epithet parama-māheśvara. The various eulogistic epithets of Raṇastambha in his Dhenkanal plate include one that refers to his devotion to the gods, the twice-born, and teachers (deva-dvijāti-guru-bhakti-guṇ-opapanna).[139] In some of the inscriptions of his successors (one of the Dhenkanal plates of Jayabhañja, and the Hindol and Puri plates of Kulastambha; nos. 4, 8, 10) Raṇastambha is said to have built temples for Sadāśiva .[140] In addition to the references

[133]The vidyādharas are attendents of Śiva (*SED*, p. 964).

[134]See, for instance, Shastri, [461], p. 169, ll. 1-2.

[135]Banerji, [36], p. 157, ll. 1-2; Banerji-Sastri, [40], p. 322, ll. 1-2. The translation given above is based on Banerji's translation of the phrase "bhūjaga-bhoga-paramāṇavaḥ" ([36], p. 158). Banerji quotes Krishna Sastri's suggested emmendation of the reading to "bhuvan=ābhoga-[pramāṇa*]-paramāṇavaḥ;" he thinks it would give the more appropriate meaning: "where the atoms are the size of the world."

[136]Shastri, [464], p. 398, ll. 19-20. Banerji-Sastri ([40], pp. 319-320, ll. 19-20) reads "asya kula-devatā bhagavatī-Stambheśvarī saśarī[ri]kāṁ kṛtvā." According to his interpretation of the passage ([40], p. 321), the king's family goddess is here said to be the adorable Stambheśvarī, who was installed by the king, having seen her.

[137]Shastri, [464], p. 403, ll. 33-34. [138]Sircar and Acharya, [540], p. 113, ll. 23-24.

[139]Shastri, [464], p. 397, l. 4.

[140]Shastri, [464], p. 406, l. 3; Sircar and Acharya, [540], p. 112, ll. 3-4; Sircar, [511], p. 167, ll. 7-8.

to the Śaivite affiliations of the Śulkī kings, most of them refer to the Śulkī or Śaulkī family (the terms vaṁśa and kulá are used interchangeably) as being favoured by the goddess Stambheśvarī (Stambheśvarī-labdha-vara-prasāda).[141] The 'stambha' endings of the names of the Śulkī kings also points to their association with Stambheśvarī.

The Tuṅgas

The seals of most of the Tuṅga copperplate grants bear the name of the king in the nominative or the genitive case. The sun, moon, a bull facing a tree, and couchant deer facing a tree are the motifs that variously appear on the seals. The only Tuṅga inscription to contain an invocation is one of the Talcher plates of Gayāḍatuṅga (no. 1), which commences with an invocation to Somārdhadhārin (the deity wearing the half-moon, i.e. Śiva), the god who is omniscient, the manifestation of knowledge, who possesses divine vision, and is the means for the attainment of excellence.[142] All the Tuṅga inscriptions endow these kings with the epithet parama-māheśvara.

Mahāparvata, the place of issue of three of the Tuṅga grants (nos. 2, 3, 4), is described in the inscriptions as being purified by the sound of the *Ṛg*, *Sāma*, and *Yajur Vedas* and by the smoke of sacrificial fires, and as a place where the abodes of the ṛṣis were made joyous by the accumulation of smoke arising from the oblations being incessently made by the twice-born.[143]

Jayasiṁhadeva

The Dhenkanal plate of Jayasiṁhadeva bears no seal, and the king has no sectarian epithets.

The Nandodbhavas

The seals of the Nandodbhava copperplate grants contain the motif of the couchant bull (described in one case as a couchant humped bull), as well as certain other motifs including the crescent and star/sun, conch, lotus, and a club-shaped object. The name of the king appears on the seals in the nominative or in the genitive case. No invocation appears in the Nandodbhava grants.

Jayapura, the capital of the Nandodbhavas, is described in the introductory portion of some of the inscriptions as free from the vices of the Kali age.[144] Other inscriptions give a conventional description which includes

[141]See, for example, Sircar, [511], p. 167, ll. 3-4.
[142]Sircar, [484], p. 95, ll. 1-3.
[143]See, for instance, Sircar, [484], p. 98, ll. 3-5.
[144]See, for example, Panigrahi, [354], p. 78, l. 1.

a reference to the city resounding with the sound of Brāhmaṇas reciting the Vedas.[145]

The Baripada museum, Jurerpur, Tamra, and Daspalla plates of Devānandadeva bestow on this king the epithet of parama-māheśvara.[146] The Nandodbhava grants contain comparisons of these kings and their ancestors variously with Dilīpa, the mountain Meru, Dakṣa, Dhanada, Pṛthu, etc., and refer to their placing the four varṇas in their proper position.[147] The Daspalla and Tamra plates of Devānanda describe Parānanda, one of the ancestors of the donor, as a remover of the stain of the Kali age (vigata-kali-kalaṅkaḥ).[148] Dhruvānanda of the Jayapura or Talmul plate was a Buddhist, as evident from his title of parama-saugata.[149]

Vīra-Pracaṇḍadeva

The seal of the Hindol plate of Vīra-Pracaṇḍadeva bears no motif or legend. There is no invocation. The king bears the epithet parama-māheśvara.

The Somavaṁśīs

The seals attached to the copperplate grants of the Somavaṁśīs usually depict the Gaja-Lakṣmī motif. The name of the king in the nominative case can be discerned on only a few seals. An exception to the usual format of the Somavaṁśī seals is that of the Mahakosala Historical Society's plates of Mahābhavagupta which bears the motif of a standing humped bull with two horns, facing the proper right, a crescent moon, and the name of the king in the genitive case. The seal of the Kudopali plates of Rāṇaka Puñja, apparently a feudatory of the Somavaṁśī king Mahābhavagupta, bears the emblem of a seated swan (haṁsa) facing proper right, surmounted by a crescent, with the title and name of Puñja (spelt [Pu]ṁ[ja]) below.

The Somavaṁśī inscriptions do not usually begin with an invocation to a deity. The exceptions are the Mahakosala Historical Society's plates of Mahābhavagupta (no. 19), which begin with the auspicious invocation "Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya."[150] The Sonepur plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva (no. 30) state that the grant was made after invoking, or in the name of, the

[145]See, for example, Sircar, [535], p. 333, ll. 2-3.

[146]It may be mentioned here that the text of the Narsinghpur plate of Devānandadeva seems defective, only stray bits of the Nandodbhava genealogy and praśasti being present.

[147]See, for instance, Panigrahi, [354], p. 78, ll. 5, 6; p. 79, l. 20; Sircar, [529], p. 186, l. 12; p. 188, ll. 19-20.

[148]Sircar, [529], p. 187, l. 6; Rajaguru, [397], p. 118, ll. 5-6.

[149]Tripathi, [570], p. 466, l. 24.

[150]Pandeya, [349], p. 136, l. 1.

lord Maheśvara (bhagavantaṁ Maheśvara-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiśya).[151] The Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the time of Udyotakeśarī (no. 27) invokes the full moon, which was born with Śrī from the midst of the ocean of milk when it was churned along with the Mandara mountain by Brahmā, Upendra, Maheśvara, Indra, and Bali, with the king of serpents as the churning rope.[152] The eulogy of the moon appears in certain other Somavaṁśī inscriptions as well. There, it is invoked as the nectar-rayed one who illuminates the earth, who is accomplished in exciting the laughter of the white water-lilies, who has his abode in the matted locks of Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva), who is the home of streams of nectar, who is the foremost among the stars, who is the jewel on the arrow of the god of love, and who is the son of the ocean of milk. [153]

The conventional eulogistic description of the Somavaṁśī political centres that appears in some of the inscriptions includes its eclipsing the grandeur of the city of the gods (sura-pura; i.e. Amarāvatī) by the splendour of its array of magnificent palaces (prāsāda), lofty buildings (āṭṭālika), temples (devakula), gardens (udyāna), wells (kūpa), and tanks (taḍāga).[154] The Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 21) describe the place whence the plates were issued as Suvarṇapura, where is established the goddess Śrī Pañcāmbarī Bhadrāmbikā, who grants the boons desired by all.[155]

Most of the Somavaṁśī copperplate grants give the sectarian affiliation of the reigning king and his father. It is in all cases Śaiva, as evident from the epithet parama-māheśvara.[156] The names of most of these kings include the word Bhava or Śiva, and are also indicative of their Śaiva leanings. (Puñja, the subordinate of the Somavaṁśīs, was also a parama-māheśvara, although he is also described as one who is favoured by the goddess Kāleśvarī.)

The Somavaṁśī praśasti is in several cases short. A few of the inscriptions, however, expand on the eulogy of the reigning king. Thus, in the Orissa State Museum plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 12), the joy created among people at Janamejaya's accession to the throne of Kosala (i.e. south Kosala) is compared with that aroused by Yudhiṣṭhira's accession to the throne. There is a reference to Janamejaya's intelligence being

[151]Mazumdar, [293], pp. 12-13. [152]Rajaguru, [404], 4: 245, ll. 1-2.
[153]Misra, [316], p. 15, v. 1; Tripathi, [569], p. 209, v. 1; Sircar, [504], p. 269, v. 1.
[154]See, for instance, Chhabra, [71], p. 251, ll. 4-6.
[155]Rajaguru, [404], p. 219, ll. 10-11.
[156]Nevertheless, the seals of the Somavaṁśī inscriptions bear the Gaja-Lakṣmī motif.

adorned and purified by his understanding of the essence of the Āgamas.[157] The king's qualities are compared with that of Somarāja, the moon, and a comparison is also made with the king's Epic namesake.[158] The Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 21) compare this king with legendary kings such as Nala, Nahuṣa, Māndhātṛ, Dilīpa, Bharata, and Bhagīratha.[159] He is also described as one who is free from the stain of the Kali age, and as a builder of many temples (devakul-āyatana), pleasure gardens (or monasteries) and parks (vihāra, ārāma, udyāna), and temple halls (maṇḍapa).[160] In the Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the time of Udyotakeśarī, Bhīmaratha is said to be the tree of plenty (kalpa-vṛkṣa) of the Kali age; his son Dharmaratha is said to be the second Paraśurāma; Udyotakeśarī is said to be a conqueror of the earth like Māndhātā, Pṛthu, and Bharata.[161] Udyotakeśarī's mother Kolāvatī is compared with the goddesses Durgā and Lakṣmī.[162] In the Narasinghpur plates (no. 12), Yayāti, the father of Udyotakeśarī, is referred to as the representative of Madhusūdana (i.e. Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa).[163]

The Somavaṁśī kings claimed to belong to the lunar dynasty.[164] This is evident from the epithet 'Soma-kula-tilaka' that they are endowed with in their inscriptions. Further, in the Narasinghpur plates of Udyotakeśarī, the Brahmeśvara temple inscription, and the Ratnagiri plates of Karṇa, the eulogy ~~of the moon god~~ with which the inscriptions commence is followed by an assertion that it was in his lineage (asy=ānvaye/vaṁśe) that the Somavaṁśī kings were born .[165]

South and North Orissa

The imperial Gaṅgas and their feudatories (inscription nos. 41-77)

The seals of the imperial Gaṅgas include a large variety of motifs,

[157]The term Āgama can refer to a variety of traditional doctrines or teachings (see *SED*, p. 129). It is not clear which one is meant here.

[158]Rajaguru, [404], 4: 160, vv. 3-4.

[159]Rajaguru, [404], 4: 219, ll. 12-13.

[160]Rajaguru, [404], 4: 219, ll. 1, 4-5. The maṇḍapa is a hall, usually one in front of the shrine of a temple (Dehejia, [111], p. 207). According to Pathak ([366], p. 50), certain lexicons give the meaning of maṇḍapa as 'a shelter for persons in general.'

[161]Rajaguru, [404], 4: 245-47, ll. 4, 5, 9-10.

[162]Rajaguru, [404], 4: 247, l. 12.

[163]Misra, [316], p. 16, ll. 22-23.

[164]Pauranic tradition traces all royal lineages to Manu Vaivasvata. Manu had nine sons and a daughter Ilā (or a son Ila who was transformed into a woman Ilā). The descendents of Manu's son Ikṣvāku constituted the solar dynasty, while the descendents of Ilā's son Purūravas constituted the lunar dynasty. (See Pargiter, [364], chaps. 7-9).

[165]Pargiter, [364], p. 15, ll. 4-6; Sircar, [504], p. 269, ll. 3-4.

including variously the couchant bull, crescent moon, elephant-goad, conch, trident, dagger, battle-axe, mace, rope, drum, ploughshare, fly-whisk, sword, tortoise, lotus, flag-staff, lampstead, darts/lances, umbrella, archway in the shape of a crocodile (makara-toraṇa), bugle, pitcher, and a liṅgam in a snake's head. The seal of the Andhavaram plates of Vajrahasta (no. 41) has been described as bearing the motifs of the couchant bull, crescent, conch, lotus, elephant-goad, a small circular disc divided into eight sectors, and a vase of plenty (pūrṇa-ghaṭa). That of the Ponduru plates of Vajrahasta (no. 42) bears the emblems of the bull, crescent, elephant-goad, and fly-whisk. The seal of the Chicacole plates of the time of Madhu-Kāvārṇava (no. 44) bears a seated bull on a platform and an elephant-goad.[166] The seal of the Mandasa plates of the Kadamba rāṇaka Dharmakheḍi of the time of Anantavarman (no. 45) bears the motifs of a fish and an elephant-goad; the fish seems to have been an emblem of the Kadambas.There are no legends on the seals of the inscriptions of this group of kings.

Vajrahasta and Rājarāja are described in their inscriptions as parama-māheśvaras. Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga is endowed with the same epithet until the Korni plates of Śaka 1034 (no. 65), where he has the epithets of parama-māheśvara, parama-vaiṣṇava, as well as parama-brahmaṇya. In the Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1040 (no. 68), he is a parama-vaiṣṇava and parama-brahmaṇya. In the Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1057 (no. 69), he is a parama-māheśvara.

The copperplate grants of the imperial Gaṅgas contain an elaborate praśasti. The inscriptions of Vajrahasta (III) refer to the Gaṅga kings as ones by whom the stain of the impurities of the Kali age was washed away with the pure water of their taintless thoughts and deeds.[167] It also speaks of the grandeur of their sovereignty (sāmrājya) being resplendent with the unique conch-shell (śaṁkha), the drum (bheri), the five great sounds (pañca-mahāśabda),[168] the white parasol (dhavala-chattra), the golden fly-whisk (hema-cāmara), and the excellent bull-crest (vara-vṛṣabha-lāñchana)[169] which they had obtained through the favour of the deity

[166]The donor of this inscription was Śrī Lakṣmaṇa Rāmadeva, a subordinate of the Gaṅga king.

[167]See, for instance, Konow, [241], p. 149, ll. 4-5.

[168]The possession of the 'pañca-mahāśabda' is usually associated with feudatories, but was used as indicative of imperial status by some medieval dynasties of South India, for instance by the eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgi (Sircar, [530], p. 192). It is in the latter sense that it seems to have been used here.

[169]It has been pointed out by Krishnamacharlu (*ARSIE*, 1935-36, p. 61) that almost all the

Gokarṇasvāmin established on the summit of the lofty Mahendra mountain, the lord all things moving and unmoving, the sole architect of the creation of all the worlds who has the moon as his crest jewel.[170]

The genealogical account of the imperial Gaṅgas begins with Guṇamahārṇava, who is described as having conquered the circle of the earth with his prowess as did the god Viṣṇu (with his strides).[171] It refers to Vajrahasta (II)'s incomparable liberality and his giving a thousand elephants to mendicants.[172] His son Kāmārṇava (II) is compared with the son of the king of gods (surarāja-sūnuḥ).[173] Kāmārṇava's younger brother Guṇḍama is compared with the Mind-born (Citta-janman), i.e. Kāma.[174] Vinayamahādevī, the mother of Vajrahasta (III) is described as having sprung from the Vaidumba family as did the goddess Śrī from the milk ocean.[175] Vajrahasta (III) is said to protect the earth with righteousness, and reference is made to his ensuring the attainment of the three goals of life (tri-varga).[176] The goddesses Śrī and Sarasvatī are said to shine in accord, one sitting on the bosom and the other in the mouth of this virtuous man.[177]

Rājarāja is described in the Dirghasi inscription of Vanapati as one whose splendour resembled that of the one whose weapon is the discus (cakrāyudh-ābhaḥ), i.e. Viṣṇu; who, like the latter, had Ramā (Lakṣmī) on his bosom; and who was in speech like Bṛhaspati, the lord of speech.[178] The grants of Rājarāja himself reproduce the Gaṅgā praśasti as it appears in the grants of his father Vajrahasta (III), with a few additions. Thus, Rājarāja is described as being the son of Vajrahasta by Anaṅga-mahādevī even as Kārttikeya was the son of Hara by Gaurī.[179] Verse 15 seems to compare Rājarāja with Viṣṇu, the god who drinks the nectar from the beautiful lips of his consort Lakṣmī, who is the giver of peace to the esteemed, joy to the virtuous, and fear to the wicked.[180]

Among the grants of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, son and successor of Rājarāja, the Vizagapatam copperplates dated in Śaka 1003 (no. 61), the Korni plates of Śaka 1003 (no. 62), the Murupaka plates (no. 63) of Śaka 1005, the Sellada plates (no. 64) of Śaka 1006, and the Vizagapatam plates (no. 69) of Śaka 1057, have an introductory section and genealogical

emblems mentioned here are to be found on the seals of the Palaṁgara amd Vizagapatam plates.

[170]Konow, [241], p. 149. ll. 5-11.
[171]Konow, [241], p. 150, ll. 14-15.
[172]Konow, [241], p. 150, ll. 23-25.
[173]Konow, [241], p. 150, l. 28.
[174]Konow, [241], p. 150, l. 31.
[175]Konow, [241], p. 150, ll. 36-37.
[176]Konow, [241], p. 150, ll. 41-42.
[177]Konow, [241], p. 151, ll. 47-49.
[178]Ramamurti, [417], p. 315, ll. 2-3.
[179]Sircar, [530], p. 196, ll. 38-39.
[180]Sircar, [530], p. 196.

account similar to that of the grants of Vajrahasta and Rājarāja. The Korni plates (no. 65) of Śaka 1034 and the Vizagapatam plates (no. 68) of the Śaka year 1040, however, give an amplified version of the Gaṅga genealogy.[181] This begins with the god Ananta (Viṣṇu): From the water-lily that grew from Ananta's navel sprang forth the god Brahmā. Then came the following in direct descent: Atri (the lord of the sages), Śaśāṅka (the Moon), Budha, Purūravas, Āyus, Nahuṣa, and Yayāti. Yayāti's son was king Turvaśu, whose maternal grandfather was the preceptor of the gods, Śukra.[182] Turvaśu propitiated the river Gaṅgā, and obtained a son, Gāṅgeya, whose lineage came to be known as the Gaṅg-ānvaya.

The genealogical account goes on to enumerate the various Gaṅga kings, giving a much longer list of rulers than do the grants of Vajrahasta (III), Rājarāja, and the earlier grants of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. After mentioning several Gaṅga kings, the praśasti of the Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1040, the Korni plates of Śaka 1003 and 1034, and the Palaṁgara plates speak of Kolāhala, builder of the city of Kolāhalapura in the great Gaṅgāvāḍi viṣaya, who made a temple of the god Hari. His son was Vairocana (II). After eighty kings had enjoyed the city of Kolāhalapura, in this lineage was born Vīrasiṁha. He had five sons: Kāmārṇava, Dānārṇava, Guṇārṇava, Mārasiṁha, and Vajrahasta. Kāmārṇava gave over his territory to his paternal uncle, set out to conquer the earth with his brothers, and reached the Mahendra mountain. Having worshipped the god Gokarṇasvāmin on the Mahendra mountain, he obtained the excellent crest of a bull through the god's favour. Then he descended from the summit of the mountain, decorated with all the insignia of universal sovereignty, and accompanied, like Yudhiṣṭhira, by his four younger brothers, he conquered king Śabarāditya,[183] who had grown tired of war, and took possession of the Kaliṅga country. Kāmārṇava's capital was the city of Jantāvura, which surpassed the city of the king of the gods, i.e. Indra. Kāmārṇava assigned some of his territory to his brothers and ruled for thirty-six years.

[181]I am indebted to Fleet's abstract of the contents of the praśasti of the Vizagapatam plates of the Śaka year 1040 ([136], pp. 170-71).

[182]Fleet ([133], p. 170, n. 44) points out that it is Bṛhaspati who is the preceptor of the gods, while the Gaṅga genealogy gives this honour to Śukra, the preceptor of the demons. It may be noted that the genealogy from Purūravas down to Turvaśu agrees with the Pauranic lists of the Turvaśu line of the solar dynasty (see Pargiter, [364], pp. 144-45).

[183]Fleet ([133], 167, l. 48) read this name as Balāditya. This reading was subsequently revised by other scholars (see, for instance, *ARSIE*, 1935-36, p. 61).

The Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1040, the Palaṁgara plates, and the two sets of Korni plates go on to describe the kings of the Gaṅga lineage as having obtained the fulfilment of all their desires by propitiating the divine Gokaṛṇasvāmin established on the pure summit of the Mahendra mountain. Gokaṛṇasvāmin is described as the sole architect of the creation of the worlds and the lord of moving and immoving creation. Kāmārṇava is said to have been succeeded to the throne by his younger brother Dānārṇava, who in turn was succeeded by his son Kāmārṇava (II). This Kāmārṇava is said to have built at his city named Nagara a temple for the god Īśa (Śiva) in the liṅga form, to which he gave the name Madhukeśa because it was made from a madhūka tree.[184] Vajrahasta (IV), one of the kings of the genealogy contained in these plates, is said to have given away a thousand elephants.

The praśasti described above, which introduces a mythical prelude to the Gaṅga genealogy, may not be as accurate as the more sober version contained in some of the earlier Gaṅga grants. The important features to be noted for the purposes of this discussion, however, are the tracing of the genealogy to Viṣṇu, the prominence given in the account of the expansion of the Gaṅga empire to the deity Gokarṇasvāmin on Mahendra mountain, and the references to the building of Śaiva temples by some of the Gaṅga kings.

Summary

The recurrent themes in the praśastis of the kings of ancient and early medieval Orissa are the bravery and the military exploits of kings, their physical beauty, and the various admirable qualities with which their personalities were endowed. Comparisons with the heroes of the Mahābhārata, Yudhiṣṭhira in particular, are frequent, as are comparisons with legendary kings such as Puru, Dilīpa, Pṛthu, Nala, Nahuṣa, Māndhātā, Bharata, and Bhagīratha.

Among the frequently occurring themes in the praśastis of the kings of ancient and early medieval Orissa is that of the Kali age, the king being eulogized for instance as the remover of the stain of the Kali age (or some similar statement), and thus as one countering the forces of degeneration. The earliest references in the inscriptions of Orissa to the Kali age belong to the fifth or sixth century AD (the Jayarampur plates of Gopacandra and

[184]It may be noted that the Madhukeśvara temple at Mukhalingam was the main temple of the Gaṅgas until about AD 1135 (Stietencron, [578], p. 23).

the early inscriptions of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara); thereafter, the references to the Kali age continue throughout the period under review.

The king is eulogized in a few inscriptions as the protector of his people and as the maintainer of dharma. References to the king as the maintainer of the order of the varṇas and āśramas occur in the Jayarampur plates of Gopacandra, grants of the Bhauma-Kara kings Śubhākara I and Śubhākara II, and the inscriptions of the Nandodbhavas. It may be noted that the Bhauma kings credited with this achievement were Buddhists.

Kingship is associated with the performance of sacrifice in the inscriptions of the Śailodbhavas. The praśasti of these kings consistently gives prominence to the performance of the Aśvamedha and Vājapeya sacrifices by members of this dynasty. The allusion to the performance of these sacrifices having fallen into abeyance is noteworthy. Apart from the Śailodbhavas, no other kings of ancient or early medieval Orissa claimed to have performed the great śrauta sacrifices. Apart from the case of the Śailodbhavas, sacrifice, and particularly the śrauta sacrifice, does not appear to have been a significant component of the ideology of kingship in ancient and early medieval Orissa.

Several inscriptions eulogize the king for his munificence, often through the analogy of the kalpa-vṛkṣa—the tree of plenty. The inscriptions of some kings specify the items gifted by kings; these included land, gold, grain, cows and elephants. The land grant charters invariably contain a series of benedictory and imprecatory verses eulogizing the act of giving land to Brāhmaṇas, citing the authority and recommendations of sources such as the *Mahābhārata*, the Dharmaśāstras, the *Manu Smṛti*, and the ancient seers (ṛṣis). It may be noted in this context that certain inscriptions (those of Pṛthivī-mahārāja and the Bamhani plates of Pāṇḍuvaṁśī Bharatabala among the inscriptions of Period I, the Ganjam plates of Śailodbhava Mādhavavarman and the Russellkonda plates of Neṭṭabhañja among those of Period II, and the Korni plates of Śaka 1934 and Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1040 of the imperial Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga among those of Period III) give the king the epithet of parama-brahmaṇya (greatly devoted to the Brāhmaṇas). Apart from the references in the royal praśastis, the evidence of several hundred records of royal grants indicates that throughout the period under review, ritual giving (dāna), particularly the giving of land (bhūmi-dāna) to Brāhmaṇas and religious establishments, was the pious activity par excellence for kings.

A small number of inscriptions refer to the temple-building activity of kings. The few references that do occur are in the Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna, the inscriptions of the Śulkīs, the

Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Somavaṁśī Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, and the Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1040 and Korni plates of the imperial Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. In all these instances, the reference is to the building of Śaiva temples. A few inscriptions eulogize kings for building monasteries—maṭhas and vihāras (the Asanapat inscription of Śatrubhañja and the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādevī), while one refers to the king's construction of lakes and embankments (Baud plates of Saloṇabhañja).

The imaging of kings with reference to or comparison with one or more deities occurs frequently in the praśastis of the inscriptions of the ancient and early medieval kings of Orissa. While the comparisons are often with deities drawn from a wide mythico-religious field, cutting across sectarian boundaries, there are several instances where the king is compared (although not always exclusively so), with the deity (Viṣṇu or Śiva), or with members of the family of the deity with whose worship he is specifically associated elsewhere in the praśasti. Examples of this are to be found in the Bamhani plates of Bharatabala, the inscriptions of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī kings Tīvara and Mahāśivagupta, two Śailodbhava inscriptions (the Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman and Banpur plates of Madhyamarāja), and the inscriptions of the imperial Gaṅgas.

The majority of the Orissan kings during the period from the fourth to the mid-twelfth century claimed an association with Vaiṣṇavism or Śaivism. The exceptions include the early Bhauma-Karas, Udayavarāha of the Bonai plate, and the Nandodbhava king Dhruvānanda, who bear Buddhist epithets, and Dharmarāja of the Sumandala plates, who is described as a worshipper of the sun god.

Among the significant references to autochthonous deities are those to the goddess Stambheśvarī, who finds mention in the Terasingha plates of Tuṣṭikāra, some of the grants of the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala, and those of the Śulkīs. The Śulkī inscriptions refer to Stambheśvarī as their tutelary deity (kula-devatā). The name of Stambheśvarī or Khambeśvarī, (literally 'goddess of the post') derived from the fact that she was originally represented by a post or pillar. The cult of this goddess is an instance of the Hinduization of an autochthonous deity, and her worship is still prevalent in western Orissa, although she is no longer always represented by a post.[185] It may be noted that the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala and the Śulkīs are also described in their inscriptions as worshippers of Śiva.[186]

[185]Eschmann, [126], p. 86.

[186]It is perhaps more than a coincidence that the reference to the goddess Stambheśvarī is absent in the Baudh plates of the fifty-fourth and fifty-eighth year which elevate

The Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Somavaṁśī Mahāśivagupta refer to a goddess named Pañcāmbarī Bhadrāmbikā being established in Suvarṇapura.

In the early part of the period under review—during the fourth to the seventh century—a few of the kings bear no sectarian titles at all. In other inscriptions of this period, the epithets parama-daivata (a great devotee of the god or gods) is frequently applied to the ruling king or his father (e.g. in the inscriptions of Viśākhavarman, some of the Pitṛbhakta and Māṭhara kings, the Vigrahas, and the Mudgalas). In one of the Soro plates of Somadatta, as also in the Kanas plate of Bhānudatta, the epithet parama-daivata is applied to the overlord of these kings. Another epithet that appears often in the inscriptions of Period I is parama-daivat-ādhidaivata (a great devotee of the gods and the supreme god); like parama-daivata, it is variously applied to the ruling king, his father, or his overlord. This epithet occurs in the inscriptions of the Vigrahas, Mudgalas, and in one of the Soro plates of Somadatta.

The earliest assumption of specifically Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva sectarian epithets by the kings of Orissa dates to about the fifth century AD, and this became the general practice soon thereafter. It may be noted that while parama-māheśvara appears in the inscriptions as the usual Śaiva epithet for kings, the Vaiṣṇava epithet parama-bhāgavata was replaced early in the period under review by parama-vaiṣṇava. There is one instance of the use of the epithet śrī-vaiṣṇava (the Antirigam plates of Jayabhañja, one of the Bhañjas of Kolāḍa).

A few of the royal inscriptions are inclusive rather than exclusive in their sectarian associations. Thus, the Kumurukela plates of Śatrubhañja (one of the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala) begin with an invocation to both Viṣṇu and Bhairava, describe the king as a parama-vaiṣṇava, and refer to the grant as having been made in the name of the lord Viṣṇu. The Singharā plates of Raṇabhañja (another early Bhañja king of Khiñjali-maṇḍala) begin with an invocation to Bhairava, describe the king as a parama-māheśvara, and state that the grant was made in the name of the lord Nārāyaṇa. The Antirigam plates of Jayabhañja (one of the Bhañjas of Kolāḍa) describe this king as a devotee of Śaṅkara as well as of Śrī and Viṣṇu.

Among the more prominent dynasties of ancient and early medieval Orissa, those that display a consistency in sectarian affiliation are the

Raṇabhañja from the status of rāṇaka to that of mahārāja. The epigraphic references to Stambheśvarī come mostly from the interior highland area of Orissa (the Kalahandi, Baudh, Sonpur, Kendujhar, and Dhenkanal areas).

Śailodbhavas, Ādi-Bhañjas, Śulkīs, Tuṅgas, Somavaṁśīs, the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka and Kaliṅganagara, and the imperial Gaṅgas upto Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. It may be noted that all these kings claimed Śaiva affiliations. Also noteworthy are the references in the inscriptions of the Sulkīs (who bear the epithet parama-māheśvara) to Stambheśvarī being their kula-devatā, and the reference in the Jurāḍā grant of Neṭṭabhañja to Nārāyaṇa being the kula-devatā of this particular branch of the Bhañja family. In the same context, i.e., the association of a dynasty with a particular deity, may be mentioned Śiva-Gokarṇa who seems to have been the equivalent of a kula-devatā (though not specifically referred to as such) for the various branches of the Gaṅga family. The veneration of the Mahendra mountain (a peak of the Eastern Ghats, situated in the far south of Ganjam district) by the Kaliṅganagara and Śvetaka Gaṅgas as well as the Śailodbhavas is noteworthy.[187] It may be noted that the Mahendra mountain is one of the group of mountains known in certain ancient texts as the kul-ācalas, so-called because they were associated with a particular tribe, people, or country; Mahendra was the mountain of the Kaliṅgas.[188]

It has been suggested by Hermann Kulke that when the Gaṅgas conquered the area south of the Mahendra mountain, they adopted as their tutelary deity one of the deities of the Śavara tribe under the name of Gokarṇasvāmin. Kulke cites as support for this argument the reference in some of the inscriptions of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga to his ancestor Kāmārṇava ascending the Mahendra mountain on his arrival in Kaliṅga, worshipping Gokarṇasvāmin, being bestowed with the symbols of king-ship, descending from the mountain, killing the chief of the Śabara tribe (Śabarāditya) and conquering Kaliṅga.[189] According to Kulke, this is an important instance of royal patronage of an autochthonous deity. How-ever, it may be noted that there is a town named Gokarṇa (literally, 'cow's ear') in the North Kanara district of Karnataka. This place has been from ancient times an important Śaiva place of pilgrimage, famed for the Mahābaleśvara temple, which, according to tradition, enshrines the phallic

[187]Gokarṇasvāmin is described from the time of the earliest Gaṅga inscriptions as having his abode on the Mahendra mountain. According to Donaldson ([119], p. 67) there are today three temples near the summit of this mountain, but all relatively late in date; none can be dated to the sixth or seventh century.

[188]The other kul-ācalas are Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimat, Ṛkṣa, Vindhya, and Pāripātra (Law, [264], p. 23). Law points out that a reference to these kul-ācalas occurs in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (57. 10), and that Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (4. 43; 6. 54) describes the king of Kaliṅga as 'lord of Mahendra.'

[189]Kulke, [257], p. 130.

emblem secured by Rāvaṇa as a result of severe penance.[190] The Gaṅgas may have brought the worship of Śiva-Gokarṇeśvara from Karnataka, which seems to have been their homeland.

In several cases, there is no consistency in the sectarian epithets assumed by the various rulers of a particular dynasty, and the epithets parama-māheśvara and parama-vaiṣṇava seem to alternate without any apparent pattern or rationale except perhaps reflecting the changing personal predilections of the kings who bore them. In some instances, however, changes in the sectarian affiliation of the kings of a particular dynasty may be associated with certain political events. Reference may be made in this connection to the political background of the shift of the Nala rulers from Vaiṣṇava to Śaiva affiliations, which coincided with and may have been a consequence of certain political events, namely the resurrection of Nala power after a series of military reverses, perhaps at the hands of the Vākāṭakas or the Cālukyas. Another example is the shift of the sectarian affiliation of the imperial Gaṅgas during the reign of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. It may be noted here that imperial Gaṅga inscriptions from the time of Rājarāja III give to Coḍagaṅga the credit for the construction of the Puruṣottama temple at Puri.[191] As far as the reasons of this shift in sectarian affiliation are concerned, some have suggested that Coḍagaṅga was converted to Vaiṣṇavism under the influence of Rāmānuja (1056-1137).[192] According to Fleet, however, nāyaka Mādhava, the donee of the Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1040, as well as his grandfather Vāsudeva judging from their names, were clearly plainly Vaiṣṇavas and hence the title parama-vaiṣṇava in this grant is not surprising, being given to the king in this particular inscription as a compliment to the donee.[193] Stietencron agrees with this interpretation, and also points out that in inscriptions recording donations to Śaiva temples, such as in the Bhīmeśvara temple at Draksarama and the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple at Bobbili, Coḍagaṅga continued to be described as a parama-māheśvara. He also states that several temple inscriptions of Anantavarman's brothers or his queens, ranging in dates from AD 1121-32, refer to him as a parama-māheśvara. Thus, according to Stietencron, the epigraphic evidence does not point to

[190]See, for instance, *Śiva Purāṇa*, Koṭirudrasaṁhitā 8. 1-28 (Shastri ed., [467], pp. 1285-86)

[191]These inscriptions ascribe the construction of the temple to Gaṅgeśvara, i.e. Coḍagaṅga. According to Stietencron ([579], p. 527), while AD 1136 may tentatively be accepted as the year when the construction of the Jagannātha temple was begun, the later date of AD 1147 cannot be ruled out. He places the completion of the temple some time before AD 1197-98.

[192]Rajaguru, [404], 3, pt. 2: LII.

[193]Fleet, [136], p. 171, n. 50.

the conversion of Coḍagaṅga to Vaiṣṇavism; it simply indicates that while making gifts to temples or private individuals, the king refrained from hurting the sentiments of the beneficiaries.[194]

While it may be accepted that Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga did not cease to patronize Śaiva religious establishments, apart from the epithet parama-vaiṣṇava that appears in the Korni plates of Śaka 1034 and Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1040, note may be taken of the change in the praśasti, tracing the Gaṅga genealogy to Viṣṇu, and the building of the Puruṣottama temple at Puri for which the records of Coḍagaṅga's successors give him credit. It may also be noted that the imperial Gaṅga kings who succeeded Coḍagaṅga were also Vaiṣṇavas. There is, thus, sufficient evidence to argue for a shift (though not an absolute reversal) in royal policy towards the latter part of Coḍagaṅga's reign. This shift in royal policy towards an association with Vaiṣṇavism can be related to the northward expansion of the Gaṅga empire and the introduction of a new sectarian symbol and identity for the kingdom, epitomized in the great temple of Puruṣottama.[195]

While two of the dynasties of Period I (fourth to seventh century)—the Nalas and the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs—claimed an origin that links them to lineages of the Epic-Pauranic tradition, the elaboration of mythical origin accounts as an aspect of royal legitimation is a more marked feature of the early medieval period, to which correspond the second and third phases (seventh to tenth and tenth to mid-twelfth century) of the chronological scheme adopted here.

The origin myth of the Śailodbhavas contains elements of divine intervention. The account commences with Pulindasena, whose name reflects a tribal origin. It may be noted that Pulindasena is described as renouncing the opportunity of kingship, for which, according to the account, he was so pre-eminently qualified. The origin of the dynasty is subsequently traced to no ordinary mortal but to one who miraculously emerged from a rock, as a result of Pulindasena's prayers to the god Svayambhū. The elaboration of the account in the Cuttack Museum plates suggets that the Svayambhū in question was Śiva, the deity whom the Śailodbhavas worshipped. The motif of emerging or being born from a rock has been interpreted in different ways. Y.R. Gupte suggests that it indicates that the Śailodbhava dynasty flourished originally in rocky

[194]Stietencron, [578], pp. 22-23.

[195]According to Kulke, ([255], pp. 149-50), the Jagannātha temple was Coḍagaṅga's attempt to outshine the Bṛhadeśvara-Śiva temple at Tanjore and thereby challenge his arch rival Kulottuṅga Coḷa; the two temples were of the same height (216 feet).

regions.[196] According to J.G. de Casparis, the most striking feature of the Śailodbhava account is the strength of the local attachment of this dynasty, symbolized in the form of Pulindasena and even more so in the rocks out of which Śailodbhava was created.[197]

The theme of miraculous birth—in this case from the egg of a pea-hen—is alluded to in the inscriptions of the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala and elaborated in those of the Ādi-Bhañjas. It has been suggested that the pea-fowl had totemistic significance for this family.[198] The event of the miraculous birth of the progenitor of the Ādi-Bhañja lineage was situated in a brahmanically respectable locale a hermitage where Gaṇadaṇḍa was reared by the sage Vasiṣṭha. The version of the Ādi-Bhañja origin myth contained in the Keśari plate of Śatrubhañja, although difficult to interpret precisely, adds to the details of the above episode by introducing the 88,000 sons of Vīrabhadra, and the latter being made adhipati of 88,000 villages by Rāmadeva. It is likely that the Rāmadeva of this account is Rāmacandra of the great epic; his introduction into the Ādi-Bhañja origin myth indicates the further brahmanization of the story.[199]

[196]Gupte, [174], p. 266.

[197]de Casparis, [110], pp. 112-113.

[198]Sircar, [473], p. 224. It may be also be noted that traces of this origin myth appear to have survived in the name of the modern district of Mayurbhanj, although the Bhañja rulers of the seventeenth and eighteenth century preferred the claim of Rajput ancestry to a connection with a pea-hen's egg. Banerji ([28], 1: 161) suggests that the Rajput origin claimed by the Bhañjas after the Mughal conquest of Orissa owed its inspiration to the perception that the Rajputs were the principal Hindu nobles in the Mughal empire. On the blatantly fabricated nature of the claim, see Banerji, [28], 1: 161-63. This is an interesting illustration of the changing basis of legitimization in royal genealogical accounts. Majumdar ([284], p. 154), on the other hand, cites evidence of the continuity of the old legend of the birth of the progenitor of the Bhañja family from the egg of a pea-hen and his being reared by Vasiṣṭha in certain documents examined by him at Baripada: namely a copy of a Sanad granted in the early eighteenth century by Mahārāja Vīravikramāditya Bhañja, and a letter of 1660, sent by the ruler of Talcher to Lakṣmī Nārāyàṇa Bhañja, the ruler of Mayurbhanj. He adds that this legend is also referred to by Upendra Bhañja, the seventeenth century poet of Orissa. Misra ([315], p. 421) points out that the modern Bhañja family of Mayurbhanj claims to belong to the Vasiṣṭha gotra. While this suggestion of the continuity of the old tradition is of interest, Misra's suggestion that the reference in the Ādi-Bhañja inscriptions to Vīrabhadra being reared by Vasiṣṭha is an allusion to the gotra of the Bhañjas and reflects a claim to belong to the solar dynasty (as according to the Purāṇas, Vasiṣṭha was the priest of the Ikṣvākus who belonged to the solar dynasty) is not convincing.

[199]According to Misra ([315], p. 423), the tradition recorded in the Keśari plate is preserved in a modified form in the sanads of the Bhañja family of Mayurbhanj in the pre-British period. These endow the Bhañja kings with the epithets 'aṭhāiśa-sahasra-Khichingeśvara' (lord of the 28,000 Khichingas) and 'Rāmacandra-ṭīka-sāraṇa' (vested with the royal insignia by Rāmacandra). Misra takes this to indicate that the modern Bhañja ruling family are the lineal descendants of those mentioned in the epigraphic records. However, his

It may be noted that the origin myths of the dynasties of Period II and III in two cases (the Śailodbhavas and Ādi-Bhañjas) reflect a melange of brahmanical and non-brahmanical elements, while the origins claimed by the two great dynasties of Period III (the Somavaṁśīs and imperial Gaṅgas) draw mainly on the Epic-Pauranic tradition. The Korni plates and Vizagapatnam plates of Śaka 1040 of the imperial Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga display an increase in the number of figures, mortal as well as divine, that are included in the royal genealogy. The genealogy includes the Moon god but ultimately traces the ancestry of the imperial Gaṅgas to the deity Viṣṇu. Here, Pauranic cosmology and royal genealogy merge and the origins of the dynasty are traced to a timeless past. The relationship between dynasty and deity reaches a climactic point, with the origin of the former being traced to the latter.

suggestion that Vīrabhadra be identified with Candragupta Maurya and Rāmadeva with Kauṭilya is rather far-fetched.

Chapter III

Brāhmaṇa Beneficiaries of Royal Endowments

The importance of Brāhmaṇas in relation to kingship in ancient and early medieval Orissa was a consequence of a variety of roles that this élite group played in these periods. As panegyrists and genealogists, Brāhmaṇas were experts in the formulation of claims to royal legitimacy. As ritual advisors to kings, they were closely associated with the court circle. As occupants of various official posts, they played a part in the administration of the kingdom. And as the prime recipients of royal endowments of tax-free land, they gradually emerged as an important landed class and as influential mediators in the realms of religiosity and social values at the village level. This chapter examines the epigraphic data relating to the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of royal endowments, the focus being on how the inscriptions define brahmanical identity—gotra, caraṇa, śākhā, native place, and so forth. The common suffixes associated with Brāhmaṇa names have been noted. Evidence of the sectarian affiliations of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries and their relationship with temple establishments has also been sought. The attempt is to move beyond a view of Brāhmaṇas as constituting a homogeneous, monolithic group and to try to calibrate the bases of differentiation within the Brāhmaṇa community.

The origins of the institution of gotra—the patrilineal exogamous clan system of the Brāhmaṇas—have been traced to the 'hymn-families' of the *Ṛgveda*.[1] Although the word gotra occurs in the *Ṛgveda*,[2] it is only in the period of the Brāhmaṇa texts that it comes to be used frequently in the sense of brahmanical clan organization.[3] According to the traditional view expressed in the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (Pravarādhyāya, 54), the gotras are eight in number, and comprise the descendents of the seven ṛṣis—Jamadagni, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha—

[1]Brough, [59], p. xiii.

[2]See, for instance, *Ṛgveda* 1. 51. 3; 2. 17, 1; 3. 39. 4; 3. 43. 7; 9. 86. 23; 10. 48. 2; 10. 120. 8. According to Kane ([224], 2, pt. 1: 479), in all these particular instances, the term gotra means a cow-pen or a herd of cattle.

[3]Kane, [224], 2, pt 1.

and Agastya. These gotras are divided into gaṇas, each of which have their own pravara.[4]

The pravara of a Brāhmaṇa consists of a series of names (one, two, three, or five) of supposed ancestral ṛṣis. The pravara of the various members of a particular gaṇa have in common the name of the eponymous gotra ṛṣi. The recitation of the pravara forms a part of the śrauta ritual in the *Yajurveda* texts, and the Śrauta Sūtras contain appendices classifying the pravaras according to their gotra. Brough suggests that while the beginnings of the pravara system probably go back to the latest portions of the *Ṛgveda*, the system was more fully elaborated probably around the time of the early Brāhmaṇa texts.[5] He argues that the pravara restriction regarding marriage may have been introduced as, in course of time, the meaning of the term gotra acquired a certain elasticity and it came to be applied to subdivisions of the exogamous clans and even to individual families within these. It was probably as a result of this that the rule that a man could not marry within his gotra or his pravara (two pravaras being considered the same for exogamic purposes even if they had one name in common) was formulated. An exception was made in the case of the Bhṛgus and Aṅgirasas, for whom a majority of the pravara names had to coincide for the marriage prohibition to apply. The pravara, thus, came to form a more precise basis for defining the exogamic group.[6]

Literary evidence also indicates the occasional use of the gotra designation for non-Brāhmaṇas. The celebrated examples of this are the case of the Buddha (a Gautama), and Mahāvīra (a Kāśyapa). The explanation for this phenomenon may lie in the prescription to be found in the Sūtra literature that a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya may take the gotra and pravara of his purohita; or it may reflect an imitation of the brahmanical institution by members of other varṇas.[7]

The term śākhā refers to the particular recension of a Veda and caraṇa to the Vedic school with which a particular Brāhmaṇa was associated. The terms śākhā and caraṇa were often used interchangeably. Among the recensions and schools of the four Vedas were the following: Bahvṛca, Āśvalāyana (*Ṛgveda*); Chandoga, Kauthuma (*Sāmaveda*); Vājasaneya (*Śukla Yajurveda*), Mādhyaṁdina (a branch of the Vājasaneya school), Kāṇva (a branch of the Vājasaneya school), Taittirīya (*Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*),

[4]What would technically be considered gaṇas are, as a matter of fact, in the inscriptions as well as in general usage, spoken of as gotras.

[5]Kane, [224], 2, pt. 1: 10, 23-24.

[6]Kane, [224], 2, pt. 1: 6.

[7]Kane, [224], 2, pt. 1: 5, n. 3.

Maitrāyaṇīya (*Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*), Paippalāda (*Atharvaveda*).[8]

PERIOD I. THE FOURTH TO THE SEVENTH CENTURY

South Orissa

The grant of Śatrudamana

The Peddadugam plates of Śatrudamana record an endowment of land to two Brāhmaṇas, Śarvvaśarmman and Va(Ba)ppaśarmman, sons of Yajñaśarmman (hence, brothers). Two shares (vṛttis) of the land were assigned to Śarvaśarmman and one share to Va(Ba)ppaśarmman. The donees are described as residents of Paṭṭuva grāma and as Taittirīya brahmacārins belonging to the Kauṇḍinya gotra.[9]

The grant of Viśākhavarman

The Koroshanda plates of Viśākhavarman record a grant to five Brāhmaṇas who are named and described as belonging to the Ātreya gotra. The name of one of the donees, Viṣṇuśarmman, is preceded by the term 'Śavarabheṇḍaka.' While this term may suggest an association with the Śavara tribe, the precise meaning is not clear; it may simply refer to the name of the village where the Brāhmaṇa resided. The five Brāhmaṇas all have names ending in the suffix śarmman.

The Pitṛbhakta grants

The beneficiaries of the grants made by the Pitṛbhakta kings were in most cases single Brāhmaṇas, and in two cases (nos. 6 and 9) several Brāhmaṇas. The inscriptions recording grants to single Brāhmaṇas specify the name and gotra of the donee. In most cases (the exceptions being the

[8]As the orthography of the inscriptions is characterized by a considerable degree of variation, the spelling of the gotras, pravaras, śākhās, caraṇas, etc., has been standardized for the purpose of the following discussion, except where a direct quote from the text of a particular epigraph is indicated. The names of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries and place names, however, are given as they appear in the text of the inscriptions. Due to the large number of details contained in this chapter, detailed reference citations have, in many instances, been dispensed with.

[9]In the narrower sense of the term, 'brahmacārin' refers to one who is at the brahmacarya stage of life, a stage characterized by studentship of the Veda and chastity. Brahmacarya is the first of the four āśramas—the classical Indian enumeration of the stages of life—the other three being gṛhastha (the householder stage), vāṇaprastha (the stage of the anchorite), and saṁnyāsa (the stage of total renunciation). However, as pointed out in *SED*, p. 738, the term brahmacārin is also applied to older unmarried Brāhmaṇas, especially if versed in the Veda. The inscriptions often appear to use the term in this general sense.

Baranga and Tekkali plates of Umavarman—inscription nos. 1 and 2), the Vedic school with which the beneficiaries were affiliated is indicated.

Two of the nine Pitṛbhakta inscriptions—the Bobbili plates of Caṇḍavarman (no. 6) and the Baranga plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman (no. 9)—record grants to an unspecified number of unnamed Brāhmaṇas, described in the first instance as brahmacārins of various gotras residing at T[i]ritthāṇa-vāṭak-āgrahāra, and in the second as Brāhmaṇas of various gotras and caraṇas of Varaṅga agrahāra.[10] The Bobbili plates record the grant of Tiritthāṇa village, evidently the same as the village wherein the donees are said to have resided; the Brāhmaṇas had already established their residence in the village gifted to them by the king. The reference in the Baranga plates to the beneficiaries of the endowment as belonging to an agrahāra seems to indicate an expansion of the landed estate of these Brāhmaṇas.

The schools represented by the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of the Pitṛbhakta grants are as follows: Chandoga (one grant), Bahvṛca (one grant), Taittirīya (one grant), and Vājasaneya (one grant). The donee of the Baranga plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman is said to belong to the Devaṁrāta (i.e. Devarāta) gotra and caraṇa. While Devarāta is the name of a gotra, no Vedic school is known by that name; it may reflect an error made by the scribe. The term caraṇa is used in the Chicacole and Baranga plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman. The term śākhā does not occur in any of the inscriptions. The donees of two grants (nos. 6, 9) are described as belonging to various gotras or gotras and caraṇas.

Haridatta, the name of the donee of the Bṛhatproṣṭhā grant of Umavarman, occurs as the name of the father of the writer of this as well as the Temburu grant of Umavarman; the name of the writer seems to be Mātrivara, and he is endowed with the title of deśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta.[11] If the two Haridattas were the same person, this is an instance of a grant made to a Brāhmaṇa several members of whose family occupied an important official post in the administration.[12] Hani(ri)ścandrasvāmin, the donee of the Chicacole plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman is described in the inscription as a Brāhmaṇa belonging to Akṣata agrahāra (Akṣat-āgrahārīya

[10]Agrahāra is a term designating a village granted to one or more Brāhmaṇa or to a temple; such a village was usually, but not always, tax-free.

[11]The deśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta seems to have been an officer of the records and accounts office pertaining to a territorial unit (Sircar, [486], p. 86).

[12]The writer of the Bobbili plates of Caṇḍavarman was the deśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta Rudradatta, son of Mātṛvara. Mātṛvara of the Bobbili plates was evidently the son of the Haridatta of the two inscriptions mentioned above. The evidence from the three inscriptions suggests a hereditary element in the occupancy of the post of deśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta.

Brāhmaṇa); this may suggest that Hariścandra was already in possession of an agrahāra and that the endowment made to him by Nandaprabhañjanavarman resulted in an expansion of his landed estate.

The Pitṛbhakta inscriptions do not give the ancestry of the donees. The names of the Brāhmaṇas mentioned in these inscriptions end in the suffixes śarmman, svāmin, and datta.

The Māṭhara grants

The four Māṭhara inscriptions all record grants to more than one Brāhmaṇa. The beneficiaries are generally identified by their name, gotra, and Vedic school. The pravara is indicated in one inscription.

The donees of the Ragolu plates of Śaktivarman were Kumāraśarmman and his eight sons. Kumāraśarmman belonged to the Sāvarṇi gotra. The term 'pañc-ārṣeya' is also applied to him, indicating that he had a five-ṛṣi pravara, although the term pravara does not occur in the inscription.[13] He is further described as a Vājasaneyī Brāhmaṇa. The beneficiaries of the Ningondi plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman are described simply as Brāhmaṇas of various gotras and caraṇas (neither the gotras nor caraṇas being specified); no names are given. The Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman similarly record a grant to Brāhmaṇas of various gotras and caraṇas, the only additional information provided being that they had been previously gifted the land by Āryyaka-Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka (evidently the father or grandfather of Anantaśaktivarman). The donees of the Madras Museum plates of Anantaśaktivarman were two Brāhmaṇa brothers, Nāgaśarmman and Durggaśarmman, belonging to the Kātyāyana gotra and described as brahmacārins of the Taittirīya school.

The Vedic schools specified in connection with the donees of this group of inscriptions are, thus, Vājasaneya (one grant—probably nine donees) and Taittirīya (one grant—two donees). The donees of the two grants are described as belonging to various gotras and caraṇas.

The suffix in which the names of the Brāhmaṇa donees of the Māṭhara inscriptions end is śarmman.

The Vāsiṣṭha grants

Of the two Vāsiṣṭha inscriptions, the donees of the Siripuram plates of Anantavarman were eight Brāhmaṇa share-holders (?) ('aṣṭāśśaka' = aṣṭāṁśaka?) of the Atri gotra and caraṇa. While Atri is the name of a gotra,

[13]The Sāvarṇis do have a five-ṛṣi pravara of Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, and Jāmadagnya (Brough, [59], p. 81).

there is no caraṇa by this name, and it seems to have been mistakenly referred to as such in this inscription. They are further described as engaged in performing and helping others to perform sacrifices (yajana, yājana), in study and in teaching (adhyayana, adhyāpana), and in offering and receiving gifts (dāna, pratigraha).[14] The beneficiary of the Srungavarapukota plates of Anantavarman was Mātṛśarmman, who had the Kauśika gotra, and was a brahmacārin of the Taittirīya school. Mātṛśarmman is further described as an Acaṇṭapura-bhogika. While Acaṇṭapura is evidently a place-name, the meaning of the term bhogika is not certain.[15]

The grants of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (inscription nos. 1-13)

Of the thirteen Gaṅga copperplate grants being considered in this section, ten record grants to Brāhmaṇas.[16] The name of the Brāhmaṇa, his gotra, and the Vedic school to which he was affiliated is in all cases specified. The terms śākhā and caraṇa occur once. Six of the ten inscriptions specify the place where the Brāhmaṇa donee/s resided.

Of the ten sets of copperplates recording royal endowments of land to Brāhmaṇas, five (nos. 4, 5, 8, 12, 13) record endowments to single Brāhmaṇas. Jayaśarmman, the donee of the Urlam plates of Hastivarman, is described in the inscription as belonging to the Vatsa gotra, affiliated to the Vājasaneya school, and a resident of Uḍāmalla (identified with the find-spot, Urlam[17]). Ddhru(Dhru)vaśarmman, the donee of the Parlakimedi plates of Indravarman (no. 8), is described as belonging to the Gārgya gotra, affiliated to the Chandoga school, and belonging to or residing in

[14]These are the six activities deemed appropriate for a Brāhmaṇa in the Dharmaśāstras.

[15]Sircar, ([486], p. 55) includes the following among the various possible meanings of the term bhogika: the owner of a bhoga or jāgīr; a Jāgīrdar or Ināmdar; the head of a district; the collector of the State's share of the produce of lands taken in kind; a village proprietor; a groom or horse-keeper. The term bhogika is taken to have the same connotation as bhogin. It may be noted that the term bhogika occurs in the Koroshanda plates of Viśākhavarman as the title of the executor Bodudeva or Boḍhudeva. Bhogika/bhogin or its variants such as bṛhadbhogin, mahābhogin, mahattabhogin are frequently associated in the inscriptions of ancient and medieval Orissa with a variety of functions related to the process of the bestowal of royal grants; they appear most frequently as the epithets of the writers of the grants, and sometimes of the engravers and dūtakas. These references suggest an association with the royal court.

[16]Of the rest, two record grants to deities and the donee of one inscription—the Tirlingi copperplate (no. 7)—is not known, as only one plate of the grant was found. It may be noted that the grant recorded in the Ponnuturu plates of Sāmantavarman (no. 2) was made at the request (pratibodhitaiḥ) of the king's uncle, Ādityarāja, while that recorded in the Parlakimedi plates of Indravarman (no. 8) was made at the request of a person named Koṇḍ vallaka.

[17]*MER*, for 1920, p. 96.

Kaliṅganagara (Kaliṅganagara-sāmānya).[18] The beneficiary of the Purle plates of Indravarman was one Bhavadattaśarmman of the Kauśika gotra, affiliated to the Bahvṛca school, and a resident of Tiriliṅga.[19] Bhavadattaśarmman is also described as one who has mastered the Veda and Vedāṅga (Veda-Vedāṅga-pāragaḥ). Skandavarmman, the donee of the Tekkali plates of Indravarman, is described in the inscription as belonging to the Śāṇḍilya gotra, affiliated to the Vājasaneya school, and as a resident of a place called Garakhonna. He, like Bhavadattaśarmman of the Purle plates, is further described as one who has mastered the Veda and Vedāṅga.

Five (nos. 1, 2, 9, 10, 11) of the Gaṅga inscriptions being considered here record grants made to more than one Brāhmaṇa. The land gifted by the Jirjingi plates of Indravarman was divided into two equal shares to be enjoyed by two Brāhmaṇas, father and son—Agnisvāmin, son of Rudrasvāmin, of the Viṣṇuvṛddha gotra and the Taittirīya school, and Agnisvāmin's son Rudrasvāmin. The Ponnuturu plates of Sāmantavarman record a land grant made to four Brāhmaṇas—Yajñaśarmman, Gauriśarmman, Agniśarmman, and Umaśarmman. They are said to belong to the Vatsa gotra and the Vājasaneya school. The donees of the Andhavaram plates of Indravarman were several unnamed brahmacārins of various unspecified gotras, affiliated to the Bahvṛca śākhā, and residents of Andoraka agrahāra (identified with the find-spot of the plates—Andhavaram in Srikakulam district[20]). Toṭavāṭaka—the village gifted by this inscription—has been identified with Totada or Todavada village, situated approximately eight miles from Andhavaram.[21] The Andhavaram plates of Indravarman, thus, illustrate the expansion of the landed estate of the Andoraka Brāhmaṇas in the vicinity of the village wherein they resided.[22]

[18]Kaliṅganagara was the capital of these Gaṅga kings; it is generally identified with modern Mukhalingam.

[19]According to Ramadas ([415], p. 361), Tiriliṅga is the same as Triliṅga. It may perhaps be identified with Tirlingi, a village near Tekkali in Ganjam district, where the stray plate of an early Gaṅga copperplate grant was found.

[20]Subrahmanyam, [562], p. 41. [21]Subrahmanyam, [562], p. 41.

[22]Subrahmanyam ([562], p. 41) notes that there is a reference to Andhavaram (mentioned as Āndoreppa) in an inscription of the Māṭhara king Anantaśaktivarman. It may be added that the Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman state that Āndoreppa grāma was granted to Brāhmaṇas of various (unspecified) gotras and caraṇas to whom the land had been previously gifted by Āryyaka Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka (perhaps the king's grandfather). There is not enough evidence to indicate whether or not the Brāhmaṇas of the Gaṅga grant were the beneficiaries or the descendants of the beneficiaries of the Māṭhara grant (although there seems to be an element of incongruity in that the donees of the Māṭhara grant are said to belong to various gotras and caraṇas, while those of the Gaṅga grant are said to belong to the Bahvṛca school).

The donees of the Chicacole plates of Indravarman (no. 10) were several Brāhmaṇas of various unspecified gotras and caraṇas, headed by Kumāraśarmman and Devaśarmman of the Vājasaneya school. The names of eleven other Brāhmaṇa donees are given. Another set of Chicacole plates of Indravarman (no. 11), records an endowment of land made to two Brāhmaṇas, Skandaśarmman and Lalitaśarmman. The donees are stated to be residents of both Avareṅga and Kaliṅganagara, to belong to the Kautsa gotra and the Chandoga school. The fact that the donees of two of the grants were residents of Kaliṅganagara, the capital of this line of Gaṅga kings, may be noted.

The representation of the Vedic schools among the donees of this group of Gaṅga inscriptions is as follows: Taittirīya (one grant—two donees), Vājasaneya (four grants—including one grant with two donees, and another with four), Chandoga (three grants—including one with two donees), and Bahvṛca (two grants—including one with several donees). Of these inscriptions, one records a grant in favour of Brāhmaṇas of various gotras and caraṇas headed by two Vājasaneya Brāhmaṇas.

The suffixes of the names of the Brāhmaṇa donees are śarmman and svāmin.

The grants of Pṛthivī-mahārāja

Both the grants of Pṛthivī-mahārāja record endowments of land to single Brāhmaṇas. These two inscriptions provide more than the usual terse information concerning the beneficiaries. The donee of the Tandivada plates was brahmacārin Bhavaśarmman of the Kāmakāyana gotra and the Chandoga school. He is described as a resident of Koṇḍamañci village (identified by Venkataramanayya with Kondamanchili on the western bank of the Godavari[23]). Bhavaśarmman is said to have studied the three thousand learnings[24] and to have written twenty commentaries (vyākhyānas). He is eulogized in the inscription as one whose intellect has been cleansed by his knowledge of the Veda, Vedāṅga, Nyāya, the Upaniṣads, and Yoga, one whose body has been purified by the water of the purificatory ablutions performed in connection with various sacrifices (adhvara), and one whose days and nights are spent in the worship of the gods, ancestors, and men. Bhavaśarmman's father and grandfather are also named and eulogized in the Tandivada plates. The former, Pri(Pṛ)-thivīśarmman, is described as one whose prosperity was revealed among the officiating priests (ṛtvij) and their assistants (sadasya) by the riches

[23]Venkataramanayya, [574], p. 193. [24]It is not clear what these learnings were.

given away by him in frequently performed sacrifices (ijyā), and as one habituated to the study, teaching, and explanation of the three thousand learnings. Bhavaśarmman's grandfather, Viṣṇuśarmman, is described in the Tandivada plates as one well-versed in the the śruti and smṛti,[25] and one whose self (ātman) was cleansed by the correct performance of the Agniṣṭoma and other sacrifices.[26]—The donee of the Tandivada plates evidently came from a family of distinguished learned Brāhmaṇas.

The donee of the Parlakimedi plates of Pṛthivī-mahārāja was one Padmaśarmman, son of Dāmodaraśarmman, and grandson of Mātṛśarmman. He is described as belonging to the Bhṛgu gotra and as a Taittirīya brahmacārin. The inscription further refers to him as one who has mastered the Veda and Vedāṅga (Veda-Vedāṅga-pāragaḥ), who is engaged in performing the six tasks (appropriate to a Brāhmaṇa), and is accomplished in self-control (yama-niyama-parāyaṇa). Reference is also made to his knowledge of the Purāṇas, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the Dharmaśāstras.—The donee of the Parlakimedi plates was evidently a learned Brāhmaṇa.

The Vedic schools represented by the donees of the grants of Pṛthivī-mahārāja are, thus, Chandoga (one grant) and Taittirīya (one grant). It may be noted that the repertoire of learning associated with the donees of both the grants included, but was not restricted to, the Vedas.

The suffix of the names of the Brāhmaṇa donees as well as their forebearers is śarmman.

The grant of Charamparāja

The donees of the Khandipada Nuapalli plates of Charamparāja were seven Brāhmaṇas. The inscription gives the names of these Brāhmaṇas. Svāmicandra, the first to be mentioned, is described as belonging to the Gautama gotra and the Bahvṛca school.[27] The name of one of the donees, Durgasvāmin, is preceded by the epithet dīkṣita.[28] The names of the donees

[25]Śruti, literally, 'that which has been heard' (by the ṛṣis), refers to the Vedas. Smṛti, literally, 'that which is remembered,' includes the Vedāṅgas, Dharmaśāstra texts, the Itihāsas, Purāṇas, and Nīti-śāstra.

[26]The Agniṣṭoma is a one-day soma sacrifice forming an integral part of the Jyotiṣṭoma; it is supposed to be performed annually in spring and on the new moon and full moon day. It is so-called because Agni is praised therein; the last chant in this sacrifice is addressed to Agni (Kane, [224], 2, pt. 1: 1133-34). Kane quotes the *Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra* of Jaimini (6. 2. 31) which declares the performance of the Jyotiṣṭoma obligatory on all members of the first three varṇas.

[27]According to Rajaguru, [404], 2: 328, these details apply to all seven donees.

[28]The 'dīkṣā' is the consecration of the yajamāna (the patron of the sacrifice, for whom it is performed) at the beginning of the Soma sacrifice (Renou, [433], p. 76). The word

variously end in the suffixes candra, svāmin, candrasvāmin, and dattasvāmin.

North and Central Orissa

The Asanapat inscription of Śatrubhañja

This inscription records the erection of a temple.

The Sitabhinji inscription of Diśābhañja

This is a one-line inscription.

The Jayarampur plate of Gopacandra

This inscription records an endowment to a Buddhist establishment.

The grants of the Vigrahas and their feudatories

The donees of the Sumandala plates of Dharmarāja, a feudatory of Pṛthivīvigraha, are described as Brāhmaṇas of various (unspecified) gotras and caraṇas, of good conduct and learning, of whom the foremost is upādhyāya[29] Maṭusvāmi, a Brāhmaṇa belonging to Homavaka agrahāra (Homavaka has been identified by Rajaguru with Humma village on the B.N. Railway, between Rambha and Ganjam stations[30]). The Kanas plate of Lokavigraha records an endowment made for the institution of bali, caru, and sattra[31] at the maṭha of a deity described as the illustrious

'dīkṣita' means one who has been consecrated or initiated, and may indicate a priest engaged in a dīkṣā, i.e. consecration for a religious ceremony (*SED*, p. 481). Monier-Williams also suggests that 'dīkṣita' is sometimes affixed to the name of a teacher, and when attached to the name of a Brāhmaṇa indicates that the latter is a pupil of the former. He adds that sometimes the teacher's name is omitted and 'dīkṣita' alone is used. The first series of meanings noted here connect the epithet dīkṣita with the context of sacrifice, and the latter with the teacher-pupil tradition. According to Kane ([224], 2, pt. 2: 1136), in the context of the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice, the individual intending to sacrifice becomes a dīkṣita after the performance of the dīkṣaṇīya iṣṭi.

[29]i.e. a teacher, a preceptor (*SED*, p. 213). According to *Manu* 2. 141, an upādhyāya was a Brāhmaṇa who taught a portion of the Veda or also the Vedāṅga for his livelihood (Max Müller, gen. ed., [331], p. 56). *Manu* 2. 145 describes the ācārya as ten times more venerable than the upādhyāya.

[30]Rajaguru, [396], p. 66.

[31]Bali is the ritual offering of grain, rice, etc. to the gods and all creatures. Caru is the oblation of rice, barley and pulses boiled with butter and milk offered to the ancestors. Sattra, in the present context, is the the giving of alms and refuge or hospitality to guests. (Fleet, [137], p. 116, n. 3; *SED*, pp. 723, 390, 1138; Sircar, [486], pp. 45, 67, 306). These are three of the rites collectively known as the pañca-mahāyajñas (the five great sacrifices)—

Maṇināgeśvara bhaṭṭāraka of Caikāmbaka or Ekāmbaka,[32] as well as for the maintenance of Brāhmaṇas of various (unspecified) gotras who were students of the Maitrāyaṇīya school. The Brāhmaṇa donees appear to have been associated with the maṭha.[33]

The only Vedic school mentioned in the grants of these kings is Maitrāyaṇīya (one grant—several donees).

The grants of the Mudgalas/Mānas and their feudatories

The two copperplate grants of Śambhuyaśas record grants to single Brāhmaṇas. The donee of the Erbang plate was bhaṭṭa Śarvvakuṇḍadatta of the Vatsa gotra and Bahvṛca caraṇa, while that of the Soro plate was Bharaṇasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja gotra and Kāṇva school. The Patiakella plate of Śivarāja, a feudatory of Śambhuyaśas, records a grant to Brāhmaṇas of various (unspecified) gotras and caraṇas; the names of forty Brāhmaṇas are given.

The Vedic schools represented by the donees of this group of inscriptions are Bahvṛca (one grant) and Kāṇva (one grant). One inscription records a grant in favour of Brāhmaṇas of various gotras and caraṇas.

The suffixes of the names of the Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the inscriptions of these kings are datta, svāmin, and deva.

The Midnapore grant of Śubhakīrti

The donee of the Midnapore plate of Śubhakīrti is described as the

brahmayajña, which consists in the study and teaching of the Veda; pitṛyajña or caru, which consists in offerings to the ancestors; daivayajña or agnihotra, which consists in making offerings to the fire; bali or bhūtayajña which consists in the making of oblations to all beings; and manuṣyayajña (also known as atithi) which consists in honouring guests (Kane, [224], 2, pt. 2: 698-99).

[32]It is possible that the reference is to Ekāmra, the ancient name of Bhubaneswar (Sircar, [536], p. 330). According to Rajaguru ([391], p. 40) the grant in question was made in favour of the deities Ambikā (Umā or Pārvatī) and Maṇināgeśvara (Maheśvara or Śiva).

[33]A significant feature of the Kanas plate of Lokavigraha is that the actual donors seem to have been certain royal officials (viniyuktakāḥ) of Uṭida or Muṭida viṣaya, in which territorial division the gift village Ūrddhavaśṛṅga was situated. The officials concerned included the vaiśvāsika, viṣayapati, and aṁśabṛhadbhogika, who apparently obtained permission from Lokavigraha in order to made the endowment. The names of these officials, along with that of the karaṇika (record-keeper), occur towards the end of the inscription as having possibly endorsed (anuśrita) the grant; as this portion of the inscription is damaged, it is not possible to reconstruct it completely. The vaiśvāsika is explained by Sircar as a privy councillor or private secretary; the viṣayapati as the head or governor of the territorial unit known as the viṣaya; and the aṁśabṛhadbhogin as probably the share holder of a big jāgīr (i.e. revenue assignment) (Sircar, [486], pp. 360, 378, 18).

intelligent Dāmyasvāmin who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra and the Mādhyaṁdina school.[34]

The grants of the Dattas

Six of the Datta inscriptions record grants to Brāhmaṇas, while one was in favour of a maṭha establishment and the Brāhmaṇas associated with it.[35] The Brāhmaṇas are identified by their name, gotra, and in most cases, by the Vedic school with which they were affiliated. Of the grants to Brāhmaṇas, one was to an individual Brāhmaṇa and the rest to more than one Brāhmaṇa.

The donee of the Midnapore plate of Somadatta was Bhaṭṭeśvara of the Kāśyapa gotra. Bhaṭṭeśvara is further referred to as the meritorious adhvaryu.[36] One of the Soro plates of Somadatta (no. 8) records an endowment to Dhruvamitrasvāmin, Aruṅgasvāmin, and others (the names are not given) of the Vatsa gotra and Vājasaneya school. Dhruvamitrasvāmin and Aruṅgasvāmin were the donees of the Soro plate of the same ruler (no. 9), as well as two of the four donees of another Soro plate (no. 10) and the Balasore plate of Śrī Bhānu (no. 12). The Soro plate (no. 9) of Somadatta and the Balasore plate of Śrī Bhānu (no. 10) record endowments in favour of Priyamitrasvāmin and Vaṭamitrasvāmin, in addition to the two Brāhmaṇas mentioned above; the donees are described as belonging to the Vatsa gotra and the Vājasaneya caraṇa. Priyamitrasvāmin is given the title of mahāmahattara.[37] These grants indicating several royal endowments to the same

[34]It may be noted that the Midnapore plate of Śubhakīrti bears the seal of the Tāvīra adhikaraṇa, i.e. the administrative office of Tāvīra, which seems to have played an important part in the grant. The plate seems to suggest that the land that was gifted was purchased by Śubhakīrti from the Tāvīra adhikaraṇa. The announcement of the grant in this inscription also seems to have been communicated to the officers by the Tāvīra adhikaraṇa, which is described as being composed of or including Brāhmaṇas among its members.

[35]The Midnapore plate of Somadatta bears the seal of the Tāvīra adhikaraṇa, i.e. the administrative office of Tāvīra, which seems to have played an important role in the grant. It is not clear from the text of the inscription whether the announcement concerning the grant was made by Prakīṁṇadāsa, an amātya (minister) of the king, or by the Tāvīra adhikaraṇa.

[36]The adhvaryu is an officiant in charge of the sacrificial proceedings and of the recitation of the *Yajus* (Renou, [433], pp. 9-10). According to Monier-Williams, the term adhvaryu may be used to designate any priest who officiates at an adhvara (a sacrifice, especially the Soma sacrifice) (*SED*, p. 24). It may also refer to a specific type of officiating priest as distinguished from the hotṛ, udgātṛ, and brahman. The adhvaryu priests had to measure the ground, build the altar, prepare the sacrificial vessels, fetch the wood and water, ignite the sacrificial fire, bring the sacrificial animal to the fire, and immolate it. They were to repeat the hymns of the *Yajurveda* while performing these tasks; hence the *Yajurveda* is also called the Adhvaryu (*SED*, p. 24).

[37]According to Sircar ([486], p. 191) the term 'mahattara,' literally 'an elder (of a town

Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries reveal the expansion of the landed estates of these particular Brāhmaṇas.

The Kanas plate of Bhānudatta records an endowment to the deity Maṇināga bhaṭṭāraka of Caikāmvakā or Ekāmvakā,[38] as well as for the Brāhmaṇas of the maṭha who were students of the Maitrāyaṇīya school. This is the same maṭha establishment that benefited from the Kanas grant of Lokavigraha.

The Vedic schools represented by the donees of the Datta grants are Vājasaneya (four grants—including two grants with two donees each and two others with four donees each) and Maitrāyaṇīya (1 grant—several donees).

The names of all but one of the Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the grants of the Datta kings end in the suffix svāmin (the exception being the donee of the Midnapore plate of Somadatta, whose name is Bhaṭṭeśvara).

West Orissa

The Nala grants

Of the four Nala inscriptions, two record grants of land to Brāhmaṇas and two (these are stone inscriptions) the erection of temples. The donees of the Kesaribeda plates of Arthapati were three Brāhmaṇas—Durgga(rggā)ryya, Ravirāryya, and Ravidattāryya, of the Kautsa gotra. According to D.C. Sircar, the phrase "Arthpati-bhaṭṭārakasy=ānugrah-ārttham" in line 5 of the inscription possibly suggests that the king made the gift after receiving some sort of help from the Brāhmaṇas.[39] The Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman and Arthapati speak of a royal endowment of land to Mātrāḍhāryya and his eight sons—Daivāryya, Devadattāryya, Kumāradattāryya, Vi(Vī)radattāryya, Vasudattāryya, Go(Gau)ridattāryya, Dhruvadattāryya, and Durggathā(dattā)ryya. The Brāhmaṇas belonged to the Parāśara gotra. The original gift was made by Bhavattavarman while staying at Prayāga (modern Allahabad), for blessing the matrimonial relationship of the king and his queen. The context of

or village),' has been translated in the following ways: a chamberlain, a village headman or head of a family or community, a member of the village council. The mahāmahattara ([486], p. 179) was probably the chairman of the council of mahattaras; the term mahāmahattara seems to have had the same connotations as the designations mahāmahattaka and mahāmahattama.

[38]According to Rajaguru ([391], p. 40) the grant in question was made in favour of the deities Ambikā (Umā or Pārvatī) and Maṇināgeśvara (Maheśvara or Śiva).

[39]Sircar, [490], p. 15.

the gift suggests that the Brāhmaṇas may have been connected with the royal marriage.

There are no references to Vedic schools in the Nala grants.

The names of all the Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the Nala inscriptions end in the suffix āryya.

The Terasingha grant of Tuṣṭikāra

The donee of the Terasingha grant was Āryya Droṇaśarmman of the Kāśyapa gotra. The endorsement at the end of the inscription refers to him as the Brāhmaṇa Droṇasvāmin.

The Śarabhapurīya grants

Seven of the ten Śarabhapurīya inscriptions record grants to single Brāhmaṇas and three to more than one Brāhmaṇa.[40] The name of the donee, his gotra, and Vedic school are generally specified.

The donee of the Sirpur plates of Sudeva was a Brāhmaṇa named Kansippasvāmin of the Parāśara gotra and Taittirīya school, described as a karaṇika, i.e. a scribe.

The three Śarabhapurīya inscriptions recording grants to more than one Brāhmaṇa are the Arang, Sarangarh, and Raipur plates of Sudeva. The Arang plates of Sudeva record a grant to nine Brāhmaṇas. The distribution of the shares was as follows: one and a half shares for Yajñasvāmin of the Kātyāyana gotra and the Mādhyaṁdina branch of the Vājasaneya school; one share for Kumāravatsa of the Bhāradvāja gotra; one share for Yajñasvāmin of the Ātreya gotra, and the Kāṇva branch of the Vājasaneya school; a half share for Viśā[kha]svāmin of the Kātyāyana gotra; a half share for Golasvāmin of the Kauśika gotra and Mādhyaṁdina school; a half share for Dāmodarasvāmin (perhaps belonging to the same gotra and school as Golasvāmin); a half share for Dāmasvāmin (perhaps also belonging to the same gotra and school as Golasvāmin); a half share for

[40]Some of the details of the real donors of these grants are noteworthy. The donor of the Pipardula plates of Narendra was one Rāhudeva, apparently a bhogapati of the Nandapura bhoga; the king confirmed the grant by making it exempt from the entry of the cāṭas and bhaṭas (irregular and regular troops). The details of the Kurud plates of Narendra suggest that the original grant may have been made by a Gupta king while bathing in the Gaṅgā river. The village granted by the Sirpur plates of Sudeva was previously granted by a person named Nanna; the grant was apparently renewed by king Sudeva at the request of the queen and the royal family. The donor of the Arang plates of Sudeva was the pratihāra Bhogilla. The grant recorded in the Sarangarh plates of Sudeva was apparently made by the queen and the royal family; the grant was assented to (anumodita) by king Sudeva.

Pañcālisvāmin of the Bhāradvāja gotra; and a half share for dīkṣita Āyanīka of the Bhāradvāja gotra.

The Sarangarh plates of Sudeva also record a grant to nine Brāhmaṇas. The donees were: Bhāskarasvāmin, learned in the three thousand learnings; Prabhākarasvāmin; Barbbarisvāmin; Boṭasvāmin; Dattasvāmin; Viṣṇusvāmin; Phalgusvāmin; Svāmikīrttisvāmin (perhaps to be read as Kīrttisvāmin), and Śaṅkarasvāmin. All the donees apparently belonged to the Kauśika gotra. Hiralal suggests that the Viṣṇusvāmin of this inscription was the same as the Viṣṇusvāmin of the Vājasaneya school and the Kauśika gotra who was the donee of the Khariar plates of Sudeva.[41]

The third set of Śarabhapurīya copperplates recording a royal endowment to more than one Brāhmaṇa is the Raipur grant of Sudeva. The donees in this case were two Brāhmaṇas—Nāgavatsasvāmin and Bandhuvatsasvāmin of the Vatsa gotra and the Aupamanyava school. It may be noted that they are described as sons-in-law of Sāvit[ṛ]svāmin of the Kauṇḍinya gotra and the Vājasaneya school.

The Vedic schools represented by the donees of the Śarabhapurīya grants are described in the inscriptions as follows: Vājasaneya (five grants), Vājasaneya-Mādhyaṁdina (one grant), Vājasaneya-Kāṇva (one grant), Mādhyaṁdina (1 grant), Taittirīya (1 grant), and Aupamanyava (one grant).

The ancestry of the Brāhmaṇas is not specified in the Śarabhapurīya inscriptions. Almost all the Brāhmaṇas mentioned have names with the suffix svāmin. The prefixes that occur are bhaṭṭaka and dīkṣita.

The Pāṇḍuvaṁśī grants

Of the ten inscriptions recording grants made by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī kings, seven record endowments to Brāhmaṇas and one was for the establishment of a charitable feeding house for Brāhmaṇas and others.[42]

Four of the inscriptions record grants to single Brāhmaṇas. The name of the Brahmaṇa recipient is specified, as is his gotra and the Vedic school

[41]Hiralal, [188], p. 282.

[42]Of the rest of the royal grants, one records an endowment made in favour of a temple establishment, and one a grant to a Buddhist monastery. Of the remaining inscriptions of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī period, some record endowments made by private individuals, one is that of a subordinate of a Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king, and one records a grant made by a Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king's mother. The details of two of the grants made in favour of Brāhmaṇas may be noted: The gift recorded by the Baloda plates of Tīvara (no. 5) was apparently made at the request of the king's son-in-law Nannarāja, while the Sirpur stone inscription (no. 13) records a grant in favour of a Vaiṣṇava temple establishment as well as certain Brāhmaṇas by Vāsaṭā, mother of king Bālārjuna.

with which he was associated. Bhavasvāmin, the donee of the Malga plates of Indrarāja, is described as the son of Nāgasvāmin, and as belonging to the Śāṇḍilya gotra and the Vājasaneya-Mādhyaṁdina school. Lohita-sarasva(svā)min, the donee of the Bamhani plates of Bharatabala, belonged to the Vatsa gotra and the Mādhyaṁdina school. The Bonda plates of Mahāśivagupta refer to the donee Bhaṭṭa-Tṛ(Tri)vikramasvāmin as belonging to the Bhāradvāja gotra and the Chandoga school. The donee of the Adhabhara plates of Mahā-Nannarāja is described as a Brāhmaṇa named Nārāyaṇa upādhyāya, of the Kauṇḍinya gotra and the Vājasaneya-Mādhyaṁdina school. It should be noted that Nārāyaṇa is also referred to as a bhāgavata, indicating his Vaiṣṇava sectarian affililiations in addition to the usual Vedic ones.

Three of the royal Pāṇḍuvaṁśī grants record endowments in favour of more than one Brāhmaṇa. The Bonda plates of Tīvara record a grant to twenty-five Brāhmaṇas, twenty of whom belonged to the Maitrāyaṇīya school and five to the Chandoga school. The Brāhmaṇas are also described as priests (adhvaryu) of the Caraka branch of the *Yajurveda* and *Sāma-veda*.[43] Some of the donees bear the title of upādhyāya, and the names of a few are preceded by the epithet bhaṭṭa. One of the donees, Vikram-opādhyāya, seems to have come from Avanti (the area around Ujjain[44]) and another, Phalisvāmi, from Lāṭa (the Nausari-Broach area of Gujarat[45]). The donees of the Rajim plates of Tīvara were two Brāhmaṇas—bhaṭṭa Bhavadatta and bhaṭṭa Haradatta, sons of Gauridatta, belonging to the Bhāradvāja gotra and the Vājasaneya-Mādhyaṁdina school. The Bardula plates of Mahāśivagupta record a grant of thirteen shares of land divided among thirteen Brāhmaṇas. The names of the Brāhmaṇas are given, and they are said to be students of the Chandoga school. The inscription also seems to indicate that these Brāhmaṇas had settled in a region called Chātranāṭa. Some of the donees have the title of upādhyāya.

Mention may also be made here of the Sirpur stone inscription, which records an endowment of land made by Vāsaṭā, the mother of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna. The endowment was divided into several shares, three of which were allotted for the support of a Vaiṣṇava temple establishment. The fourth share was divided into fifteen parts, twelve of which were allotted to twelve Brāhmaṇas, four affiliated

[43]The Carakas are actually associated only with the Black *Yajurveda* (*SED*, p. 380). Gupta ([172], pp. 5-6) points out that the Caraka śākhā of the *Yajurveda* is mentioned in a seal found at Rajghat and in the Nidhanpur copperplates of Bhāskaravarman. The study of this recension seems to have declined in popularity and eventually become extinct.

[44]Sircar, [477], p. 114. [45]Sircar, [477], p. 114.

to each of the three Vedas (the Bahvṛca branch of the *Ṛgveda*, the *Sāmaveda*, and the *Yajurveda*).[46] The inscription goes on to state that the sons and successors of these Brāhmaṇas should be such that they should be agnihotrins,[47] learned in the six Aṅgas (of the Veda); they should not be addicted to vices such as gambling and frequenting prostitutes; they should have clean mouths, and they should not be servants (a-sevaka). If any of the Brāhmaṇas did not fulfill these conditions, the inscription states that his share should be forfeited, as also that of one who died sonless, and their portions should be assigned to dvijas (those who are twice-born; in this case the reference seems to be to Brāhmaṇas in particular) fulfilling the above-mentioned requirements. According to the inscription, the new appointees should be related to the Brāhmaṇa donees, learned, and elderly, and should be appointed by the consent of the donees alone and not by the order of the king. The last three shares of the land endowed by the queen-mother were assigned to the Brāhmaṇa Vāsavanandin, the puṇyāha-vācaka (a priest who officiates at auspicious ceremonies and proclaims with certain mantras a happy day to the ceremony and its performer[48]) and the two bhāgavatas—Vāmana and Śrīdhara. Verses 41-42 of the Sirpur inscription seem to record a gift by the king Śivagupta to Guṇārya bhaṭṭa and refer to part of the gift being reserved for a virtuous Brāhmaṇa learned in the śāstras, the commentaries, and the Vedas.

The Vedic schools represented in the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī grants are as follows: Bahvṛca (one grant—four donees), *Sāmaveda* (one grant—four donees), Chandoga (three grants—one of which had five and the other either one or thirteen donees), *Yajurveda* (one grant—four donees), Vājasaneya-Mādhyaṁdina (three grants—one with two donees), Mādhyaṁdina (one grant), Maitrāyaṇīya (one grant—twenty donees). One of the inscriptions records a grant in favour of twelve Brāhmaṇas, four affiliated to each of the three Vedas—*Ṛg*, *Yajur*, and *Sāma*.

The Brāhmaṇa name-suffixes that occur in the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī inscriptions include svāmin and datta. Many of the names do not have the conventional suffixes (there are no suffixes at all in many names).

[46]The *Atharvaveda* was not represented.

[47]i.e. those who perform the Agnihotra, a sacrifice enjoined on householders belonging to the twice-born classes, supposed to be performed twice daily (Kane, [224], 2, pt. 2: 998). *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* 2. 2. 3 derives the name of this rite from the fact that homa is offered to Agni therein (quoted in Kane, p. 998, n. 2257). The Agnihotra formed one of the pañca-mahāyajñas or five great sacrifices.

[48]Hiralal ([189], p. 197) translates the term puṇyāha-vācaka as one who "at sacrifices declares holidays." The translation cited above is that of Sastri ([189], n. 1).

PERIOD II: THE SEVENTH TO THE TENTH CENTURY

South and Central Orissa

The Śailodbhava grants

Twelve of the sixteen Śailodbhava land grant charters record endowments made to Brāhmaṇas.[49] Ten of these grants were made in favour of single Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇa donees are identified by their name, gotra, in most cases by Vedic school (except in nos. 1, 5, and 9), and in eight of the inscriptions, by their pravara (nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 13, and 14). The pravaras are given with 'vat' suffixes in the Kondeda plates of Dharmarāja (no. 13).[50]

Two of the Śailodbhava charters record grants to more than one Brāhmaṇa. The Orissa Museum plates of Mādhavavarman (no. 6) record an endowment of land in favour of twenty-four Brāhmaṇas, whose names are given.[51] The Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja (no. 8) record a grant made to twelve Brāhmaṇas said to belong to various (unspecified) gotras, pravaras, and caraṇas; the inscription gives the names of the donees.

Reference to the anupravara occurs in a few inscriptions (nos. 4?, 5?, and 10). There is some disagreement about how the relevant portion of the Purushottampur plates of Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta (no. 4) is to be read and interpreted. According to Sircar, the donee had the Maudgalya gotra, Āṅgirasa pravara, and Bhārmyāśva anupravara.[52] According to S.N. Rajaguru's reading of the passage, however, the donee belonged to the Mudgala gotra, the [Śankarā?]bhadra anupravara, and the Chandoga caraṇa.[53] The reading of the relevant section of the Puri plates of Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta (no. 5) is likewise not free from doubt, as some of the letters are illegible. R.G. Basak suggests that bhaṭṭa Vittadeva, the donee of this grant, had the Kauśika gotra, Utathya and other pravaras,

[49]Of the remaining four, one records what seems to be an endowment to a Jaina ascetic and Jaina establishment, and three are incomplete charters.

[50]In the sacrificial context, the pravara names are recited in the course of the iṣṭi by the Adhvaryu with 'vat' suffixes (For details on this, see Brough, [59], pp. 8-10).

[51]According to Sircar ([487], pp. 117-18), a passage in the Orissa Museum plates of Mādhavavarman (no. 6) may indicate that the real donor of this grant was a Śailodbhava feudatory named Varamora or Varanara, who obtained permission from his overlord in order to make the grant.

[52]Sircar, [531], p. 268, n. 6. It may be noted that the Mudgalas or Maudgalas have the following three-ṛṣi pravara: Āṅgirasa, Bhārmyāśva, and Maudgalya (Brough, [59], p. 129).

[53]Rajaguru, [401], p. 21.

and belonged to the Kauthuma śākhā and Chandoga caraṇa.[54] N.P. Chakravarti, however, disagrees with Basak's reading. He asserts that the reading of the second letter of the name of the donee's gotra is uncertain, and also points out that the Kauśika gotra cannot have the Utathya pravara. He suggests that the correct reading of the name of the pravara is "Aü(Au)tathya." He also reads "Al...-ānupravarāya" in line 31 in place of Basak's "nānā-pravarāya." [55] Savarideva, the beneficiary of the Nivina plates of Dharmarāja (no. 19), is described in the inscription as having a five-ṛṣi pravara as well as anupravara.

The term caraṇa occurs in inscription nos. 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 13, and 14, while the term śākhā occurs in inscriptions no. 10 and 14. The Nivina plates of Dharmarāja (no.10) refer to caraṇa as well as śākhā: the donee, Savarideva dīkṣita bhaṭṭa of the Vatsa gotra and pañc-ārṣeya (five-ṛṣi) pravara and anupravara, is said to belong to the Kauthuma śākhā and Chandoga caraṇa. The Puri plates of Dharmarāja (no. 14) refer to the donee Golasvāmin of the Jātūkarṇya gotra and the Vāsiṣṭha, Ātreya, and Jātūkarṇya pravara, as belonging to the Vājasaneya caraṇa and Kāṇva śākhā.

The Vedic schools represented by the beneficiaries of the Śailodbhava grants are as follows: Chandoga (one grant), Chandoga-Kauthuma (one grant), Vājasaneya (two grants), Vājasaneya-Kāṇva (two grants), and Taittirīya (one grant). One inscription records a grant in favour of Brāhmaṇas of various gotras, pravaras, and caraṇas.

Only one of the Śailodbhava inscriptions gives the ancestry of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiary. This is the Buguda grant of Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta, which describes the donee bhaṭṭa Vāmana as the son of Ādityadeva and the grandson of Vāmaṇa.

The suffixes attached to the names of the Brāhmaṇa donees include svāmin and deva. Some of the names do not bear suffixes. The epithet dīkṣita is applied to the donee of the Nivina plates of Dharmarāja, while the beneficiary of the Kondedda plates of Dharmarāja is described as an agnihotrin. The names of the Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the Śailodbhava grants are frequently preceded or followed by the epithet bhaṭṭa (nos. 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11).

The grants of Neṭṭabhañja

Both the inscriptions of Neṭṭabhañja record grants of land to Brāhmaṇas. Mādhavasvāmin, the beneficiary of the Baud plates is described as belonging to the Parāśara gotra and Kāṇva branch of the Vājasaneya

[54]Basak, [43], pp. 129, n. 5; 131.

[55]Basak, [43], p. 131, n. 4, 5.

caraṇa.[56] The donees of the Russellkonda plates were fourteen Brāhmaṇas of various gotras and pravaras. The names of these Brāhmaṇas (who are referred to in one place as dvij-ottamāḥ, or best among the twice-born) are given and their respective shares specified; the largest share was assigned to Vāsudevasvāmin of the Kauśika gotra and Vājasaneya caraṇa.[57] Thus, the only school represented by the donees of these inscriptions is Vājasaneya (one grant) and Vājasaneya-Kāṇva (one grant). The Brāhmaṇa name suffix that occur in these inscriptions is svāmin.

The grants of the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka

The beneficiaries of fourteen of the fifteen grants made by the Śvetaka Gaṅga kings were Brāhmaṇas, the remaining endowment being made to a temple establishment as well as Brāhmaṇas. Twelve inscriptions record grants to individual Brāhmaṇas, and two to more than one Brāhmaṇa. In the latter category are the Pherava plates of Sāmantavarman (no. 3), which record an endowment to a Brāhmaṇa Kīrttīśaśarmman and his three sons, and the Gautami plates of Indravarman (no. 13), which record a grant to two Brāhmaṇas, Vināyakaśarman and Nārā... [rda]śarman. The Indian Museum plates of Indravarman (no. 11) set aside certain portions of the land for (the shrines of) the deities Mādhava and Svayambhū, while half a share was apportioned to Brāhmaṇas whose names are given at the end of the inscription.[58] These Brāhmaṇas were perhaps associated with the temple establishment or establishments of these deities.

The name and gotra of the beneficiaries is given in all cases, and the pravaras, anupravaras, and Vedic schools are often specified. The pravaras are mentioned in nine inscriptions. In a few cases (nos. 4, 8, 15) the pravara-ṛṣi names are not given, and the inscription simply refers the Brāhmaṇa to a pañc-ārṣeya pravara. In the other cases, the pravaras are

[56]The text reads: "...Vvā(Vā)jasaneya caraṇāya Kāṇva-Pārāśarasa-gotrāya Mādhavasvāmine..." (Misra, [309], p. 115, ll. 24-26). According to Misra (p. 117), the donee belonged to the Vājasaneya caraṇa and the Pārāśara school of the Kāṇva branch. Another possibility is that 'Kāṇva-Pārāśarasa-gotrāya' is a mistake for 'Kṛṣṇa-Parāśara-gotrāya.' The Kṛṣṇa Parāśaras are included among the Vasiṣṭhas, and have a three-ṛṣi pravara of Vāsiṣṭha, Śāktya, and Pārāśarya (Brough, [59], pp. 174-76).

[57]According to Sircar ([513], p. 260), all the donees belonged to the Kauśika gotra and the Vājasaneya caraṇa. It seems, however, that it was Vāsudevasvāmin alone who belonged to this gotra and caraṇa: the Brāhmaṇas are described in l. 27 of the inscription as belonging to various gotras and caraṇas.

[58]It may be noted that the initiative for setting up the temple-establishment in question was that of a woman named Śrī Elā, who may have been a daughter-in-law of the reigning king, Indravarman.

named, often with the formulaic 'vat' endings (nos. 7, 9, 12, 13), and in one case (no. 10), in both their plain and formulaic forms. The donee of the Svalpa-Velura grant of Anantavarman (no. 9) was Bhaṭṭa Nānaṭaśarmman of the Vatsa gotra and the Bhṛguvat Dairdavat Cyavanavat Jamadagnivat pravara. The Vatsas in fact have the pravara Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, and Jāmadagnya.[59] In the Gautami plates of Indravarman (no. 13), the donees are described as belonging to the Vājasaneya caraṇa, Parāśara gotra, and Śaktivat, Vasiṣṭhavat, and Kaṇvavat (pravaras). The Parāśara gotra has the pravara Vāsiṣṭha, Śāktya, and Parāśarya.[60] Kaṇvavat is thus out of place among the pravara names of a Brāhmaṇa of the Parāśara gotra. It may reflect an error on the part of the scribe, being included with the pravara instead of as the name of the śākhā to which the Brāhmaṇa in question may have belonged.

The anupravara finds mention in some of the Śvetaka Gaṅga inscriptions. Bhaṭṭa Śrī Nanvaṭṭamuttara, the donee of the Ganjam plates of Jayavarman (no. 7), is described as belonging to the Vatsa gotra; he is said to have a five-(ṛṣi) pravara (pañca-pravara) and the names of four of the five pravaras are given in the formulaic form of Vatsavat, Dairddavat, Bhṛguvat, and Jamadagnivat. Nanvaṭṭamuttara's anupravara is stated to be Savyanā (the intended reading may have been Cyāvana[61]). The Vishamagiri plates of Indravarman (no.12) refer the donee bhaṭṭaputra Jakṣaśvā(svā)miśarmman to the Jātūkarṇya gotra; his pravara is described as Vāsiṣṭhavat and Jātukarṇya; his anupravara is said to be Jātūkarṇyavat and Jīvadvijeṣṭhavat.[62] Bhaṭṭaputra Duga(rga)khaṇḍin, the beneficiary of the Badakhimedi plates of Indravarman (no. 14) is said to belong to the Vatsa gotra and to have the pañca-pravara of Aurva, Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, and Jāmadagnya; he is said to have the same five anupravaras.[63]

[59]Brough, [59], p. 89. [60]Brough, [59], p. 176.

[61]Even so, the pravara does not match the gotra. The Vatsas do have a five-ṛṣi pravara, but it is as follows: Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, and Jāmadagnya (Brough, [59], p. 81).

[62]Jīvadvijeṣṭha is not mentioned in texts as a pravara name. The Jātukarṇyas are included among the Vasiṣṭhas, and according to one list, have the one-ṛṣi pravara of Vāsiṣṭha. In other lists they are have a three-ṛṣi pravara of Vāsiṣṭha, Atri, and Jātukarṇya (Brough, [59], pp. 172-73, 180, 185). It may be noted that there is an alternative reading of the relevant passage of the inscription in question. According to Subbarao ([560], p. 188), the donee of the Vishamagiri plates was one Candasvāmiśarman, son of Jātukarṇṇa-bhaṭṭa, belonging to the Vājasaneya school, Kāṇva branch, Jātukarṇa gotra, and having Vasiṣṭha, Atri, and Jātukarṇa as his pravara. Subbarao sees no reference to the anupravara in the text of the inscription. His reading of the inscription, however, seems to be in general less reliable than that quoted above—that of Rath ([429], pp. 134-37).

[63]"...tatha iva(tath=aiva) anupravarā[h*] pañca... " (Bhattacharyya, [56], 80, ll. 17-18.

The same Brāhmaṇa was the beneficiary of the Ganjam plates of Dānārṇavadeva (no. 15). Here, his name is given as Bhaṭṭa Durggakhaṇḍika, and he is simply said to have a pañc-ārṣeya (five-ṛṣi) pravara and a pañc-ānupravara (a five-ṛṣi anupravara).

The terms śākhā and caraṇa appear to have been used interchangeably in some of the inscriptions. Thus, Vājasaneya is referred to as a caraṇa in inscription nos. 1, 2, 5, 9, 10, 12, 13, and as a śākhā in nos. 3 and 6. Kāṇva is referred to as a śākhā in nos. 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12. Some inscriptions, however, specify both the śākhā and caraṇa of the donee: inscription nos. 5, 7, 9, 10, and 12 associate the donee with the Vājasaneya caraṇa and Kāṇva śākhā. Chandoga is referred to as a caraṇa in nos. 14 and 15. The former inscription refers to the Rāṇāyaṇīya śākhā in association with the Chandoga caraṇa.[64]

The representation of Vedic schools among the donees of the Śvetaka Gaṅga grants is as follows: Chandoga (one grant); Chandoga-Rāṇāyaṇīya (one grant); Vājasaneya (five grants—including one grant with four and another with two donees); Vājasaneya-Kāṇva (five grants); Kāṇva (one grant).

The ancestry of the Brāhmaṇa donees is mentioned only in the Badakhimedi plates of Indravarman and the Ganjam plates of Dānārṇavadeva (nos. 14, 15). The donee of both these inscriptions, Durgakhaṇḍin/Durggakhaṇḍika, is described as the son of bhaṭṭa Vo(Bo)dhana/Vo(Bo)dhūna. The fact that this Brāhmaṇa was the beneficiary of two grants indicates the expansion of his landed estate. (One of the donees of the Indian Museum plates of Indravarman—no. 11— was one Durgakhaṇḍin. He might possibly be identified with the donee of inscription nos. 14 and 15.)

A Śvetaka Gaṅga inscription that seems to have intended to give the place of residence of the beneficiary of a royal grant is the Ganjam grant of Jayavarman (no. 5). Here, the words 'viṣaya-vāstavya' occur, but the name of the viṣaya to which the Brāhmaṇa belonged seems to have been omitted inadvertently. Apart from this inscription, no other Śvetaka Gaṅga grant refers to the place of residence of the donee.

The Brāhmaṇa donee of the Ganjam plates of Jayavarman (no.4)—bhaṭṭaputra Padma—is referred to as a māhatraya, which may be an error

[64]Gupta ([172], pp. 3-4) points out that the Rāṇāyaṇīya śākhā of the Chandoga school is mentioned in a few inscriptions from other parts of the country—the Indor copperplate of the time of Skandagupta, an eleventh century inscription of Mummunirāja, and the Mandhata copperplates of Devapāla.

for mahattara.[65] Bhaṭṭaputra Māṇikadeva, the donee of the Ganjam plates of Bhūpendravarmadeva (no. 8) has the epithet of māhātra, which may also perhaps be read as mahattara.

The common Brāhmaṇa name suffixes in the Śvetaka Gaṅga inscriptions are śarmman and deva. Names without suffixes also occur. The epithets bhaṭṭa and bhaṭṭaputra occur frequently.

The grants of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara and their feudatories: (inscription nos. 14-40)

The Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of this group of Gaṅga copperplate grants are generally identified by their name and gotra, and in some cases, also by their Vedic school and place of residence. Eight of the inscriptions record grants to individual Brāhmaṇas[66] and nine to more than one Brāhmaṇa.[67] The following inscriptions belong to the latter category: the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman (no. 14), which record a land grant in favour of six Brāhmaṇa brothers; the Trilingi plates of Devendravarman (no 16), which record a grant to the Brāhmaṇa Pillāśarmman and his sister Pillikasvāminī;[68] the Andhavaram plates of Anantavarman (no. 19), which record an endowment to several Brāhmaṇas (numbers and names unspecified) of various (unspecified) gotras; the Santha Bomvali plates of Nandavarman (no. 20), the donees of which were three Brāhmaṇas; the Shalantri/Musinaka plates of Devendravarman (no. 24), the beneficiaries of which were two Brāhmaṇas; the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman (no. 31), which record a grant to three hundred Brāhmaṇas of the Vājasaneya caraṇa and various (unspecified) gotras; the Nirakarapur plates of the Kaḍamba feudatory Udayakhedi (no. 36), which record an endowment

[65]On mahattara, *supra*, p. 134, n. 37.

[66]This includes the Siddhantam plates of Devendravarman (no. 17), the donee of which made over a share of the land to his brother; the Sudava plates of Devendravarman (no. 15), the donee of which, from the reference to his Vedic learning, seems to have been a Brāhmaṇa; and the Kalahandi plates of Anantavarman Vajrahasta (no. 35), the donee of which was one Nārāyaṇa.

[67]Two of the grants in favour of Brāhmaṇas were made by the king at the request of certain persons. Thus, the grant recorded in the Trilingi plates of Devendravarman (no. 16) was made at the request of the king's mother and that recorded in the Sudava plates of Anantavarman (no. 18) at the request of the king's brother. The donor of the Nirakarapur plates (no. 36) was a Gaṅga feudatory, Udayakhedi of the Kadamba family. The details of the Chicacole plates of Vajrahasta (no. 40) suggest that the real donor was an individual named Vurāsī, who perhaps made the grant in conjunction with another individual named Uṇḍilipeṭhi; the two may have bought the land from the king, who may have ratified it and made it tax-free.

[68]Line 12 of the inscription mentions the term 'vadhū' in connection with the beneficiaries of the grant; this could refer either to Pillikasvāminī or to Pillaśarmman's wife.

to several Brāhmaṇas of various (unspecified) gotras; the Chidivalasa plates of Devendravarman (no. 38), the beneficiaries of which were three Brāhmaṇas; and the Napitavataka plates of Devendravarman (no. 39), which record a grant to two Brāhmaṇas.

The pravaras are specified in only one inscription—the Chidivalasa plates of Devendravarman (no. 38). Here, the donees, A(Ā)dityabhaṭṭa, Yajñabhaṭṭa, and Khaṇḍidevabhaṭṭa are said to have the Bhāradvāja gotra and the Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya, and Bhāradvāja pravara.

The Vedic schools represented in the grants of this group of Gaṅga kings are as follows: Bahvṛca (three grants—including one with two donees), Chandoga (one grant—six donees), Vājasaneya (two grants—including one with three hundred donees), Kāṇva (one grant), Yajur Veda-Kaṭha (one grant). The term śākhā is used in the Chicacole plates of Vajrahasta (no. 40) (Kāṇva śākhā), and caraṇa in the Indian Museum plates (no. 27) (Yajur-Veda-Kaṭha-caraṇa) and the Chicacole plates (no. 31) of Devendravarman (Vājasaneya caraṇa).

The place of residence of the Brāhmaṇa donee/s is indicated in thirteen inscriptions. The six Brāhmaṇa brothers who were the beneficiaries of the Chicacole grant of Devendravarman (no. 14) are said to have resided in Kaliṅganagara. Pillāśarmman, one of the donees of the Sudava plates of Devendravarman (no. 16), is described as a resident of Kaliṅgapura in Guṁḍra viṣaya.[69] Tamparaśarmman dīkṣita, the donee of the Siddhantam plates of Devendravarman (no. 17) is referred to as a resident of Eraṇḍapali. The beneficiary of the Sudava plates of Anantavarman (no. 18) was Viṣṇusomācā[r*]ya, resident of Śṛṅgāṭika agrahāra in Kāmarūpa viṣaya (which may have been a viṣaya in Kaliṅga, not necessarily in Assam[70]). The various Brāhmaṇas who were the beneficiaries of the Andhavaram grant of Anantavarman (no. 19) were residents of Ānandapura. Śrī Dharabha[ṭa], the donee of the Alamanda plates of Anantavarman (no. 22), was a resident of Homavaravala. Ādityaviṣṇuśarman, one of the donees of the Shalantri/Musinaka plates of Devendravarman (no. 24) is described as a resident of Nagara (probably referring to Kaliṅganagara[71]). The Indian Museum plates of Devendravarman (no. 27) record an endowment made in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Govindaśarma who was a resident of a

[69]Kaliṅgapura could possibly refer to Kaliṅganagara, the Gaṅga capital. The reading of the name of the viṣaya is not certain.

[70]Ghoshal, [164], p. 66.

[71]Mirashi, [300], p. 26. It may be noted that the gift village Musunikā(ka) seems to have been located in the vicinity of Kaliṅganagara.

place called Pā[ṭa]ka[bojyā?] in Uttara-Rāḍha.[72] Nārāyaṇa, the donee of the Kalahandi plates of Anantavarman Vajrahasta (no. 35), is said to have belonged to Māhava village. The Chidivalasa plates of Devendravarman (no. 38) also state the name of the place of residence of the Brāhmaṇa donees; the three Brāhmaṇas are described as belonging to Siviḍi grāma.[73] The boundaries of the gift village indicate that Siviḍi grāma was adjacent to it. The beneficiary of the Chicacole plates of Vajrahasta (no. 40) was Bhaṭṭa Nāra (Nārada ?); his father—Māṇapa Bhaṭṭa—seems to have been an inhabitant of Kāmavāha-Yāhnuṇa grāma.[74]

Unfortunately, most of the place names mentioned in connection with the place of residence of the Brāhmaṇa donees mentioned above have not been identified. It may however, be noted that the donees of two—if not three—of the grants belonged to Kaliṅganagara, the political centre of these Gaṅga kings and that one records a grant to a Brāhmaṇa from Bengal.

The donees of several of these inscriptions are endowed with epithets indicating their Vedic learning, while reference is also made in a few cases to their performance of the six acts enjoined on Brāhmaṇas by the Dharmaśāstras.[75] The Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman (no. 14), the Trilingi plates of Devendravarman (no. 16), the Siddhantam plates of Devendravarman (no. 17), and the Sudava plates of Anantavarman (no. 18) are described as having mastered the Veda and Vedāṅga (Veda-Vedāṅga-pāraga). The epithet 'Vedāṅga-pāraga' is applied to the donees of the Andhavaram plates of Anantavarman (no. 19). The donee of the Alamanda plates of Anantavarman (no. 22) is described

[72]The geographical term Rāḍha denoted the western regions of Bengal. The Damodar river probably constituted the boundary between Uttara (north) and Dakṣiṇa (south) Rāḍha (Sen, [454], pp. 45, 77). In the early medieval period, Rāḍha (which had the same connotations as the geographical term Suhma, which it gradually came to replace) included modern Howrah, Hooghly, Burdwan, and the northern and eastern portions of Midnapore (Medinipur) and Birbhum, and may also have included the Murshidabad and Bankura areas ([454], pp. 75-76).

[73]Subba Rao ([556], pp. 148, 150) sees a reference to the Brāhmaṇas belonging to Vaṅga (in Bengal) in l. 21 of this inscription. This reading has been disputed by Sircar ([480], p. 77).

[74]The place of residence of the donees is also mentioned in the Bangalore plates of Devendravarman (no. 25) and the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman (no. 26), but there are no clear indications that the donees of these two grants were Brāhmaṇas. The Bangalore plates record a grant to Rātuka, a resident of Pālukosu, for the provision of oblations, incense, and food offerings for the worship of the deity Parameśvara. The beneficiaries of the Chicacole plates were Cetī, Lokaya and others (or Cetīloka and others), sons of Kavvāsaka Vilaci (perhaps meaning Vilaci who belonged to a place called Kavvāsaka). These donees seem to have been priests of a bhaṭṭārikā or goddess of the village.

[75]Viz. adhyayana, adhyāpana, yajana, yājana, dāna, pratigraha.

as one who understands the essence of the Veda and Vedāṅga (Veda-Vedāṅga-tattva-jña). The Chidivalasa grant of Devendravarman (no. 38) describes its beneficiaries as ones who know the Veda and Vedāṅga (Veda-Vedāṅga-vedinaḥ) and as ones who incessently adhere to the dharma as proclaimed in the śruti and smṛti (śruti-smṛty-uditaṁ dharmam=aniśaṁ paryupāsataḥ). The Napitavataka plates of Devendra-varman (no. 39) describe the father of its Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries as devoted to the performance of the six acts or duties enjoined on Brāhmaṇas (ṣaṭ-karma-nirata) and as one who understands the meaning of all the Vedas (vidita-sakala-Ved-ārtha); the two donees are described as having mastered the *Bahvṛca Veda*[76] along with the six Aṅgas (ṣaḍ-aṅga-sahita-Bahvṛca-veda-pāra-ga), and as ones who understand the meaning of all the śāstras (avagat-āśeṣa-śāstr-ārtha). The donee of the Chicacole plates of Anantavarman (no. 40) is referred to as a good student of the Veda. This inscription also describes the donee Nāra as engaged in the six acts or duties enjoined on Brāhmaṇas (ṣaṭ-karm-ābhirata).

The Sudava plates of Devendravarmaṇ (no. 15) state that the land in question was made over to bhagavat Pataṅga-Śivācārya, guru (precepter) of the king.[77] Pataṅga-Śivācārya is described as one who has acquired the knowledge of the Veda, Vedāṅga, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, and Nyāya. It may be noted that the grant is said to have been made on the occasion of the dīkṣā ceremony (of the king),[78] and that Pataṅga-Śivācārya made over half the land to (the deity?) Yāgeśvara-bhaṭṭāraka, and the other half to his disciples and disciples' disciples. These details seem to refer to some kind of maṭha set-up, the head of which was associated with the royal court as the king's guru.

The Galavalli plates of Manujendravarman (no. 37) record a grant to Kauṇḍuka-Guṇḍeśvara (probably a deity called Guṇḍeśvara worshipped at a locality called Kuṇḍuka or Koṇḍuka). The gift was apparently received on behalf of the deity by Sāmaveda Bhagavanta, who was probably the priest in charge of the temple. His name suggests that he was affiliated to the *Sāma Veda*. Sāmaveda Bhagavanta is described as the son of Brahātma Bhagavanta of Vallakonda or Callakonda. A later endorsement added to the inscription gives the name of a person named Yogātman, who may

[76]The Bahvṛca is a recension of the *Ṛgveda*.

[77]According to *Manu* 2. 142, the Brāhmaṇa who performs rites such as the garbhādhāna (conception rite) in accordance with the rules, and gives food to the child is known as the guru (Müller, gen. ed., [331], 25: 56).

[78]'Dīkṣā' refers to the preparation or consecration for a religious ceremony.

have been the successor of Sāmaveda Bhagavanta as priest of the temple. It is not certain whether this later endorsement was approved by the royal authority or whether it constitutes a forgery.[79]

A few of the Gaṅga inscriptions of this group refer to priests, not in all cases identifiable as Brāhmaṇas. The Vishakhapatnam plates of Devendravarman (no. 21) record an endowment made in favour of the deity Dharmeśvara bhaṭṭāraka (probably a deity in the liṅga form) at the time when the superintendence of the shrine was in the hands of the illustrious Brāhmaṇa Somācārya. The Bangalore plates of Devendravarman (no. 25) record a grant made to one Rātuka, a resident of Pālukosu, and described as 'Kateya-sūtra-pañca-vrata,'[80] for the provision of oblation (caru), incense (dhūpa), and food offerings (naivedya) for the worship (pūjā) of lord Parameśvara. Rātuka was evidently the priest in charge of the shrine; his description does not establish his Brāhmaṇa identity. The donees of the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman (no. 26) were Cetī, Lokaya and others or Cetīloka and others, sons of Kavvāsaka Vilaci. According to D.C. Sircar, Kavvāsaka may have been the place whence Vilaci came.[81] These four brothers, who were to share the gift village equally, seem to have been priests of a bhaṭṭārikā (goddess), who may have been a village goddess. There is no indication in the inscription that these priests were Brāhmaṇas.

Mention has already been made of Bhaṭṭa Nāra (or Nārada), the beneficiary of the Chicacole plates of Anantavarman (no. 40). The inscription refers him to the Dakṣa gotra and the Kāṇva śākhā. It may be added here that there is a reference in lines 22-23 of the inscription to a sattra, indicating that the endowment may in fact have been made for the provision of a sattra (charitable feeding-house), apparently under the care of this Brāhmaṇa.

The Sudava plates of Devendravarman (no. 18) state that the grant to Viṣṇusomācārya was made on the occasion of a marriage ceremony (vivāha-samaye kanyā-dānam). This suggests that the Brāhmaṇa in question may have been an officiant at the marriage (presumably a royal marriage).[82]

The donees of the Chidivalasa plates of Devendravarman (no. 38) are described as the descendants of Gojā-dīkṣita, who had previously acquired

[79]Sircar, [530], p. 189.

[80]This is the reading given by Rice ([434], p. 33). The meaning of the epithet is unclear.

[81]Sircar, [479], p. 17.

[82]This particular grant was made at the request of Jayavarman, king Devendravarman's brother.

the village of Siviḍigrāma.[83] Siviḍi is also given as the place of residence of the donees. This inscription indicates the expansion of the landed estate of this particular Brāhmaṇa family.

The ancestry of the donees appears in seven inscriptions. The titles/epithets given to the Brāhmaṇa donees in this group of Gaṅga grants include bhaṭa/bhaṭṭa, dīkṣita, and ācārya.[84] The frequently-occurring Brāhmaṇa name suffix is śarmman.

North Orissa

The Bhauma-Kara grants

Twelve Bhauma-Kara inscriptions record royal endowments of land in favour of Brāhmaṇas.[85] Of these, eight were grants made to individual Brāhmaṇas and four to more than one Brāhmaṇa. The Neulpur plate of Śubhākara (no. 2) is particularly noteworthy as it records a grant made to two hundred Brāhmaṇas (although 202 names are given). The Terundia plate of Śubhākara II (no. 8) records an endowment made to six Brāhmaṇas, the Dharakota plate of Śubhākara (no. 10) to two (according to Rajaguru, three)[86] Brāhmaṇas, and the Kumurang plate of Daṇḍimahādevī (no. 20) to five Brāhmaṇas. The Baud plates of Tribhuvanamahādevī (nos. 15 and 16) actually record an endowment to a Śaiva temple (the deity is Umā-Maheśvara), but one of the shares is specifically stated to be for providing food and clothing to Brāhmaṇas (probably those associated with the temple establishment).

The Brāhmaṇa donees of the Bhauma-Kara land grant charters are usually identified by their name, gotra, pravara, and Vedic school. The ancestry of the Brāhmaṇas is specified in five inscriptions (nos. 17, 19, 24,

[83]"...Siviḍigrām-ārjita-Gojā-di(dī)kṣita-vaṁṁśa(śa)jebhya(bhyo)....." (Sircar, [480], p. 80, l. 21).

[84]According to *Manu* 2. 140, the ācārya was a Brāhmaṇa who initiated a pupil and taught him the Veda, Kalpa, and the Rahasyas (Müller, gen. ed., [331], 25: 56).

[85]Of the rest of the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions, three record grants to temples, two to Buddhist establishments, and one is a secular grant. Two of the grants in favour of Brāhmaṇas were made by Bhauma-Kara queens at the request of certain individuals, whose names appear as the 'vijñāpti' in the inscriptions.—The vijñāpti of one of the Baud plates of Tribhuvanamahādevī (no. 15) was a person named Śaśilekhā, described as the wife of mahāmaṇḍalādhipati Maṅgaleśvara, and as born in the Virāṭa family and married into the Vrāgaḍi family. The Santiragrāma plate of Daṇḍimahādevī (no. 19) states that the grant was made at the request of rāṇaka Apsarodeva, lord of Yamagartā maṇḍala. Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati Maṅgaleśvara and Apsarodeva seem to have been feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas.

[86]Rajaguru, [377], p. 194.

25, 26), in some cases the names of both the father and grandfather being specified.

The donee of the Angul plate of Dharmamahādevī (no. 25) was Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa of the Śāṇḍilya gotra and the Bārhaspatya, Jāmadagnya, and Daivala pravara. The Śaṇḍilas can have the pravara Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, and Śaṇḍila;[87] or Daivala, Āsita;[88] or Kāśyapa, Daivala, Āsita.[89] Thus, the gotra and parvara of Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa do not match.

The anupravara is mentioned in two inscriptions. The donees of the Dharakota plate of Śubhākara (no. 10) were two in number: Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa of the Māṅgalya gotra, Āṅgirasa pravara, and Aurva and Sāvar[ṇṇa?] (Sāvarṇi) anupravara; and Bhaṭṭa Devakaṇṭha of the Kauśika gotra, Viśvāmitra pravara and the Devarāta and Audala anupravaras.[90] It may be noted that the gotra and pravara of the first donee do not match. The Māṅgalya gotra has the pravara of Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, and Śyāvāśva.[91] The Kauśikas or Kuśikas have, according to some pravara lists, the pravara of Vaiśvāmitra, Daivaśravasa, and Daivatarasa;[92] according to others, they have the pravara of Viśvāmitra, Devarāta and Udala.[93] The names of two of Devakaṇṭha's pravara ṛṣis have, in this inscription, been referred to as constituting his anupravara. Dhavala, the donee of the Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādevī (no. 17), is described as belonging to the Viśvāmitra gotra, the Devarāta pravara, and Audala anupravara.

The term śākhā is used in inscription nos. 17, 24, and 26, caraṇa in nos. 5 and10, while some other inscriptions refer to the term śākhā as well as caraṇa (nos. 8, 11, 18, 19). The representation of the Vedic schools among the Brāhmaṇas is as follows: *Ṛgveda* (one grant); Bahvṛca (one grant—fifty-one donees); Chāndīśa (one grant—fifty-one donees);[94] Vājasaneya (two grants, one with two and the other with forty-nine donees); Vājasaneya-Kāṇva (two grants—including one with six donees); Vājasaneya-Mādhyaṁdina (one grant); Kāṇva (one grant); Chandoga-Mādhyaṁdina (one grant); and Āśvalāyana (one grant). It may be noted that the donee of the Taltali plate of Dharmamahādevī (no. 26) is described as 'Chāndogya-

[87]Brough, [59], p. 161. [88]Brough, [59], p. 162. [89]Brough, [59], p. 162.

[90]This is the reading of Misra ([318], pp. 21-22). Rajaguru, however, reads the relevant section of the inscription differently ([377], p. 192; 194, ll. 22-24). According to him, this inscription records a grant made in favour of three Brāhmaṇas—Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇadeva, Kuntā Bhaṭṭa, and Bhaṭṭa Lumbadeva Mitra; the first donee had the Māngalya gotra, Āṅgirasa pravara, and Dattātreya anupravara, while the second had the Kauśika gotra, Viśvāmitra pravara, and Devahotra anupravara. As in Misra's reading, the donees, according to Rajaguru, belonged to the Vājasaneya caraṇa.

[91]Brough, [59], pp. 139-140. [92]Brough, [59], p. 150. [93]Brough, [59], p. 156.

[94]Chāndīśa seems to refer to the Chandoga school.

pāṭha-prāpta-Mādhyaṁdina-śākh-ādhyāyin.' This is perplexing as the Chandoga śākhā is associated with the *Sāma Veda*, while the Mādhyaṁdina śākhā belongs to the *Yajur Veda*. It may also be noted that the two hundred donees of the Neulpur plate of Śubhākara (no. 2), described as cāturvidya Brāhmaṇas belonging to various gotras and caraṇas, represent more or less equally the four Vedas (the Bahvṛca, Vājasaneya, Chāndīśa, and Ātharva schools).

Some of the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions (nos. 8, 17, 19, 24, 25, 26) specify the name of the native place and/or place of residence of the Brāhmaṇa donees. The six donees of the Terundia plate of Śubhakara II (no. 8) are described as residents of Taramaṇḍapa-grāma. Dhavala, the beneficiary of the Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādevī (no. 17), is described as having come from Viṅgināṭaka.[95] The donee of the Santiragrama plate of Daṇḍimahādevī (no. 19) was bhaṭṭa Mākyadeva, who came from Ṭakārī and was a resident of Dharmmapāṭṭi. Ṭakārī is mentioned in several inscriptions and was evidently a famous seat of Brāhmaṇa learning. Its location is not known for certain.[96] Mihahīca, the donee of the grant of Vakulamahādevī (no. 24), came from Śāvastha-deśa[97] and was a resident of Ka[ṇti]ḍa village. Śrīdhara bhaṭṭa, donee of the grant of Vakula-

[95]According to Kielhorn ([238], p. 139, n. 10), the name of this place may be read as Viṅgipāṭaka or Veṅgipāṭaka. This place has not been identified. It could possibly have some connection with Veṅgi, a name for the coastal area from Vishakhapatnam district to Guntur district.

[96]There are numerous references to Ṭakārī (as Ṭakārī, Tarkārī, Tarkārikā, Tarkāra, Ṭakkāra, Ṭakārī, Ṭakkāikā, etc.) in inscriptions from various parts of the country from the tenth to the thirteenth century AD. It is said in some records to be situated in Madhyadeśa, a geographical division which roughly comprised the area of modern Uttar Pradesh and the eastern part of the Punjab, Bihar and North Bengal sometimes also being included in it (Sircar, [515], p. 86). The Silimpur inscription describes this village as situated within Śrāvastī (Basak, [44], p. 290, vv. 2-4). The location of this Śrāvastī is, however, controversial, some scholars identifying it with the Śrāvasti known to have been situated in modern Set-Mahet on the border of Gonda and Bahraich districts in Uttar Pradesh (Majumdar ed., [286], p. 579, n. 1; Majumdar, [275], pp. 208-11), and others locating it in the Bogra district of North Bengal (Ghosh, [154], pp. 14-18). The proponents of the latter view point out that in addition to the Śrāvasti described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Vāyu Purāṇa* as the capital of Lava, the son of Rāma, and apparently located in modern Uttar Pradesh, there is another Śrāvasti mentioned in the *Matsya* and *Kūrma Purāṇas*. The second Śrāvasti is said to have been founded by king Śrāvasta, son of king Yuvanāśva, and is described in the *Matsya* and *Kūrma Purāṇas* to have been located in Gauḍa-deśa, i.e. in Bengal (See Ghosh, [154], p. 14). The reason for the confusion about the location of Śrāvasti and Ṭakāri appears to be that Brāhmaṇa migrants from the Śrāvasti area in modern Uttar Pradesh named their new settlements in the Hili-Balurghat area of North Bengal after their home villages (Sircar, [518], p. 297).

[97]The correct reading may be Śrāvasti. On its identification, see *supra*, p. 161, n. 96.

mahādevī (no. 25), is said to have come from Kolāñca, another important seat of brahmanical learning, not yet satisfactorily identified.[98] The donee of the Taltali plate of Dharmamahādevī (no. 26) was Śrī Padmanābha, who came from Kolāñca and was a resident of Koṁsallā (identified with Kaṁsarā village in the old Hindol state, about three miles from Taltali, the find-spot of the plate[99]).

The additional information on some of the donees indicates a variety of backgrounds of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of the royal endowments made by the Bhauma-Kara kings. Among the donees of the Neulpur plate of Śubhākara (no. 2) were Brāhmaṇas with the following epithets: caturthada (the meaning of this is unclear), chātra (student), agnihotrin (one who performs the Agnihotra sacrifice), Atharva-bhaṭṭa-purohita (a chaplain presumably affiliated to the *Atharvaveda*), haṇḍikāpati (the meaning of this term is uncertain[100]), and vaṭu (a young Brāhmaṇa[101]). The grant recorded in the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādevī (no. 11) appears to have been made in favour of Bhaṭṭa Jagaddhara for making rain, indicating this particular Brāhmaṇa's expertise in magical activities. The Terundia plate of Śubhākara II (no. 8) records a grant to six Brāhmaṇas, and the purpose is stated to be the upkeep of the maṭhas and maṇḍapas established by these Brāhmaṇas in Taramaṇḍapa grāma, their native village. According to D.C. Sircar, the terms maṭha and maṇḍapa seem here to have the meaning of a college and a public building respectively.[102]

[98]Kolāñca, Kroḍāñja, Kroḍañci, etc. is mentioned often in the early medieval inscriptions of North India. The traditional genealogies contained in some of the Kulaji texts of Bengal (which may be dated from the fifteenth century on), mention either Kolāñca or Kanauj as the place whence king Ādiśūra of Bengal imported five Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas and Vedic sacrifices who became the progenitors of the Rāḍhīya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇas (Majumdar ed., [286], pp. 623-25). The location of Kolāñca is controversial. A grant of king Dharmapāla of Prāgjyotiśa describes Kroḍāñja as situated in Śrāvasti (Sircar, [518], p. 298). The Kolāñca of the inscriptions has been identified by Ghosh with either Kularch or Kalanja village in the Bogra disctrict of Bengal (Ghosh, [152], pp. 358-59). While the Kolāñca of the genealogical accounts was probably located in modern Uttar Pradesh, its namesake of the inscriptions may have been located in Bengal (Sircar, [518], pp. 297-98).

[99]Das and Panigrahi, [90], p. 216. The gift village, Tarataloi, has been identified with Taltali, the find-spot. The donee, thus, obtained a village in the vicinity of the place where he resided.

[100]According to Sircar ([486], p. 126), 'haṇḍikā' means 'an earthen pot (for cooking),' and the term 'haṇḍikāpati' may refer to the head of a joint family (i.e. the one responsible for feeding the family).

[101]*SED*, p. 719. Vaṭu is evidently the same as baṭu. The meanings suggested for this word are: a boy, lad, stripling youth (especially a young Brāhmaṇa); sometimes also contemptuously applied to adult persons; name of a class of priests.

[102]Sircar, [523], p. 214.

Another meaning of the term maṇḍapa is suggested by V.S. Pathak, according to whom, lexicons give the meaning of the term as "a shelter for persons in general."[103] Dhavala, the donee of the Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādevī (no. 17), is described as a pratihāra. This indicates that he was a Brāhmaṇa associated with the royal court.[104] It may be noted that the inscription seems to suggest that Dhavala in turn gifted one-fourth of the village granted to him to Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of a saṁkrānti (the passage of the sun from one sign or position to another). The father of Padmanābha, the donee of the Taltali plate of Dharmamahādevī (no. 26), was Gadādhara, who bore the epithet paṇḍita.[105]

The common name suffixes of the Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the Bhauma-Kara grants are bhaṭṭa, svāmin, and deva. Bhaṭṭa and bhaṭṭaputra often appear as prefixes to the names. Many names do not have suffixes. The title 'paṇḍita' occurs in one inscription.

PERIOD III: THE TENTH TO THE MID-TWELFTH CENTURY

North and Central Orissa

The grants of the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

Of the eleven inscriptions recording endowments made by the early Bhañja kings of Khiñjali-maṇḍala, ten record gifts to Brāhmaṇas, and one to a Śaiva establishment. All the grants to Brāhmaṇas were made in favour of individual Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇa donees are usually identified by their name, gotra, pravara, Vedic school, ancestry (the name of the father and often also the grandfather being specified), native place, and place of residence.

While the inscriptions of the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala specify the pravara of the donees, it may be noted that these pravaras do not always match the gotras (according to the gotra and pravara lists given in various literary sources). This is the case, for instance, in the Kumurukela plates of Śatrubhañja (no. 1) and the Singharā plates of Raṇabhañja (no. 3).[106] The

[103]Pathak, [366], p. 50.

[104]The various meanings of the term 'pratihāra' or 'pratīhāra' given by Sircar ([486], p. 259) include the following: 'a door keeper;' an officer in charge of the defence of the royal palace or bed-chamber or the head of the guards of the city-gate; a chamberlain or inditer of grants.

[105]The epithet 'paṇḍita' has the connotations of a scholar, a learned man, teacher, or philosopher (*SED*, p. 500).

[106]The donee of the Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja of the year 54 (inscription no. 10) should

donee of the Kumurukela plates of Śatrubhañja was Brahmacārin Bhaṭṭa Manoratha described as having the Kāśyapa gotra[107] and the Gārgya, Āpni, and Āṅgirasa pravara. The donee of the Singharā plates of Raṇabhañja was Bhaṭṭaputra Voheḥ of the Kāśyapa gotra, and the Vatsa and Naidhruva pravara. In both cases, the gotra and pravara do not match, as the Kāśyapa gotra has the following pravara: Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Naidhruva; or Kāśyapa Āvatsāra, Āsita.[108]

Reference to the anupravara occurs in only one inscription—the Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja of the year 26 (no. 8). Here, the donee, Bhaṭṭaputra Śrī Dāmodara, is described as having the Maudgalya gotra, Bhārmāśva pravara, and Āṅgirasa anupravara. It may be noted that the Maudgalya gotra actually has the pravara of Āṅgirasa, Bhārmyāśva, and Maudgalya.[109] The inscription has only mentioned one of the pravara-ṛṣi names as such, a second being stated to be the anupravara, and the third being the same as the gotra name.

The terms śākhā and caraṇa occur in several inscriptions; some inscriptions (nos. 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11) specify both. The Vedic schools represented are as follows: Bahvṛca (two grants), Chandoga-Kauthuma (three grants), *Sāmaveda* (one grant), *Yajurveda* (one grant), Vājasaneya-Kāṇva (one grant), Kāṇva (one grant), Mādhyaṁdina (one grant).

Brahmacārin Bhaṭṭa Manoratha, the donee of the Kumurukela plates of Śatrubhañja (no. 1) is described as hailing from Vaṅgakuṭi and a resident of Gandhaṭapāṭi.[110] The beneficiary of the Sonpur plates of Śatrubhañja (no. 2) was Bhaṭṭaputra Kṛṣṇa from Ālāpa grāma. Bhaṭṭaputra Voheḥ, the donee of the Singharā plates of rāṇaka Raṇabhañja (no. 3), is described as perhaps also be put into the category of donees whose gotra and pravara do not match. According to Banerji ([38], p. 322), the donee of this inscription—whose name seems to have been inadvertently omitted by the scribe had the Rohita gotra, the Rohita aṣṭaka, the Viśvāmitra pravara, and belonged to the Chandoga caraṇa and Kauthuma śākhā. The Rohitāyanā gotra has the pravara of Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, and Naidhruva (Brough, [59], pp. 159-60). It is possible, however, that the intended reading of the donee's gotra is Lohita, not Rohita (perhaps the scribe made the error). The Lohitas have, according to some pravara lists, the three-ṛṣi pravara of Vaiśvāmitra, Āśṭaka/Aṣṭaka, and Lauhita/Lohita (Brough, [59], pp. 147, 152, 157). These are the ṛṣi names given in the inscription concerned.

[107]According to my reading of the facsimile of the plate, the reading should be [Gā]rgya. The gotra and pravara, however, do not match even with this reading. For the Gargas or Gārgyas have the five-ṛṣi pravara of Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Śainya, Gārgya or a three-ṛṣi pravara of Āṅgirasa, Śainya, Gārgya (Brough, [59], p. 114).

[108]Brough, [59], pp. 160, 168. [109]Brough, [59], p. 129.

[110]Gandhaṭapāṭi has been identified with modern Gandaradi in the old Baudh State (Banerji, [24], p. 71).

having come from Bhadra-palāśī grāma in Magaha (Magadha) deśa[111] and as a resident of Gandhaṭapāri.[112] Bhaṭṭaputra Paṇḍita Varada of the Orissa Museum plates of Raṇabhañja (no. 4) hailed from Tālabhṛtakī grāma in Barendnra (Barendra, i.e. Varendra) maṇḍala[113] and was a resident of Vāri grāma. Bhaṭṭaputra Śrī Śrīdhara of the Binka plates of Raṇabhañja (no. 5) came from Bhaṭa-Nirola (which from the prefix Bhaṭa, i e. Bhaṭṭa, seems to have been a Brāhmaṇa village) and was a resident of Kāmārī. The donee of the Daspalla plates of Raṇabhañja (no. 7) was Bhaṭṭaputra Śrī Padmākara, from Pecipāṭaka in Varendra maṇḍala,[114] and a resident of Burallā. Bhaṭṭaputra Śrī Dāmodara, the beneficiary of the Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja of the year 26 (no. 8) is described as having come from Khaḍuvāpalī bhaṭṭa-grāma (apparently a Brāhmaṇa village) in Madhyadeśa.[115] The beneficiary of the undated Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja (no. 9) was Bhaṭṭaputra Devadhara from Madhyadeśa,[116] a resident of Mahiṣipadraka. The Brāhmaṇa donee of the Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja of the year 54 (no. 10), whose name seems to have inadvertently been left out by the scribe, came from Apilomuleri and was a resident of Amvasarāsarā. Śubhadāma, the donee of the Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja of the year 58 (no. 11) came from Ṭakāri in Sāvatthi deśa[117] and was resident of Bhaṭṭa Tadala (apparently a Brāhmaṇa village) in Oḍra viṣaya.[118]—The data from the copper-plate grants of the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala is, thus, indicative of brahmanical migrations into Orissa from south-east Bihar (Magadha), Bengal, and other parts of northern India. The evidence suggests that these Brāhmaṇas came into Orissa at some earlier point of time, and were settled in villages (in some cases Brāhmaṇa villages) in Orissa prior to their being endowed with land by the Bhañja kings.

[111]Magadha corresponds roughly to the modern Patna and Gaya districts of south Bihar (Raychaudhuri, [432], p. 110).

[112]This is how the place-name is read by Mazumdar ([292], p. 484, l. 13). It is quite possible that the intended reading is Gandhaṭapāṭi, a place mentioned in the Kumurukela plates of Śatrubhañja (no. 1) as well, and identified with modern Gandaradi in the old Baudh State.

[113]Varendra or Varendrī formed part of Puṇḍravardhana, which was a territorial division which included the northern parts of Bengal. Sen ([454], p. 112) points out that in modern times, the tract of land on the borders of Dinajpur, Malda, Rajshahi, Bogra, and Rangpur, from the Ganga and Mahananda to the Karatoya rivers, corresponding to practically the whole of the Rajshahi division and some sections of Pabna district, goes by the name of Barind, a name reminiscent of the ancient geographical term Varendra.

[114]See *supra*, n. 113. [115]See *supra*, n. 96. [116]See *supra*, n. 96.

[117]See *supra*, n. 96.

[118]In this period, Oḍra included the large tract of land between Dakṣiṇa Kosala in the west and coastal Orissa in the east (Ganguly, [145], p. 57).

The names of the Brāhmaṇa donees of this group of inscriptions do not bear the common Brāhmaṇa name suffixes (śarmman, etc.). The epithets that occur are bhaṭṭaputra, bhaṭta, brahmacārin (no. 1), and paṇḍita (no. 4).

The grants of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

Thirteen of the fourteen copperplate inscriptions of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala record royal endowments to Brāhmaṇas.[119] Of the Brāhmaṇa grants, the beneficiaries of eleven grants were individual Brāhmaṇas, and those of two were more than one Brāhmaṇa. In the latter category are the Ganjam plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 2), which record an endowment to eight Brāhmaṇas and the Jangalapadu plates of Śatrubhañja (no. 14) which record a grant in favour of two Brāhmaṇas.

The Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the grants of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala are usually identified by their name, gotra, pravara, caraṇa, śākhā, and the name of their father and grandfather.

The anupravara occurs in eight inscriptions. The donee of the Gumsur plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 1) was Bhandeśvara who had the Vatsa gotra, a three-ṛṣi pravara (tri-pravara), and the Vatsa and Bhārgava anupravara.[120] The Ganjam plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 2) identifies three of its donees as belonging to the Kauśika gotra, the Aghamarṣaṇa pravara and Viśvāmitravat anupravara, and five others as belonging to the Vatsa gotra and the Bhārgavavat, Cyavanavat, Ātmanā (Āpnavāna), Aurva, and Jāmadagnya anupravaras.[121] Bhaṭṭa Rudaḍa (Rudraṭa) of the Ganjam plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 3) belonged to the Vatsa gotra, the Āṅgirasa pravara and

[119]The donee of the remaining grant—the Orissa plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 9)—was vaṇij (merchant) Ivadataka(dattaka), great-grandson of vaṇij Gargadata(datta), grandson of Apadata(datta), and son of Vapadata(datta). He is described as having the Kāśyapa gotra, and as hailing from Tṛ(Tri)bhuvanapura in Varendri. This could be an instance of a Brāhmaṇa merchant or of the use of the gotra by a non-Brāhmaṇa.

[120]The Vatsas have the five-ṛṣi pravara of Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, and Jāmadagnya (Brough, [59], p. 81). According to the Āśvalāyana pravara-list, the Jāmadagnya-Vatsas have the above five-ṛṣi pravara, but those who are not Jāmadagnyas have the three-ṛṣi pravara of Bhārgava, Cyāvana, and Āpnavāna (p. 93). The names of two of these ṛṣis are cited in the above inscription as constituting the donee's anupravara.

[121]The Aghamarṣaṇa-Kauśikas have a three-ṛṣi pravara: Vaiśvāmitra, Āghamarṣaṇa, Kauśika (Brough, [59], p. 152). The above inscription cites the name of one of these ṛṣis (Kauśika) as the gotra, another (Aghamarṣaṇa) as the pravara, and the third (Vaiśvāmitra) as the anupravara of three of the donees. As for the five other donees, the names of the pravara-ṛṣis are cited in the inscription as constituting the anupravara of these Brāhmaṇas. (For the pravara of the Vatsas, see *supra*, n. 120). Two of the ṛṣis' names are given with 'vat' endings. The term anupravara, in this case, evidently has the same connotation as pravara.

the Bhārgava anupravara.[122] The donee of the Komanda plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 4) was Bhaṭṭa Stambhadeva of the Gautama gotra, Autathya (Aucathya) pravara, and Āṅgirasa anupravara.[123] The Pettasara plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 5) record a grant made to Bhaṭṭa Keśavarudra of the Bhāradvāja gotra, Āṅgirasa pravara, and Bārhaspatya anupravara.[124] Bhaṭṭa Lumvādeva of the plates of Śilābhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa (no. 6) is described as having the Kauṇḍinya gotra, the Vāsiṣṭha, Maitrāvaruṇa, Kauṇḍinyat and Maitrā-Vasiṣṭhat pravara and the Maitrāvaruṇat anupravara.[125] The donee of the Ganjam plates of Vidyādharabhañja (no. 8) was Bhaṭṭa Purandara of the Rohita gotra, the Rohita, Aṣṭaka, and Vaiśvāmitra pravaras, and the Viśvāmitravat, Aṣṭakavat and Rohitavat anupravaras.[126] The donee of the plates of Neṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa (no. 13) was Bhaṭṭa Dāuli of the Bhāradvāja gotra, Āṅgirasa pravara, and Bārhaspatya anupravara.[127]

The Vedic schools represented by the beneficiaries of the grants of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala are as follows: Bahvṛca (one grant), Chandoga-Kauthuma (two grants), Vājasaneya (two grants), Vājasaneya-Kāṇva (five grants—including one with three donees), Vājasaneya-Mādhyaṁdina (one grant), and Taittirīya (two grants).

Four of the inscriptions specify the native place of the Brāhmaṇas, and three of these give the place of residence. Bhaṭṭa Purandara, the donee of

[122]The pravara and anupravara names do not match the gotra. For the pravara of the Vatsa gotra, see *supra*, n. 120.

[123]The Aucathya-Gautamas have a three-ṛṣi pravara: Āṅgirasa, Aucathya, Gautama (Brough, [59], p. 105). The above inscription cites the name of one of these ṛṣis (Gautama) as the gotra, another (Aucathya) as the pravara, and a third (Āṅgirasa) as the anupravara of the donee.

[124]The Bhāradvājas have the following pravara: Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja (Brough, [59], p. 113). These are the ṛṣis who are mentioned in connection with the gotra, pravara, and the anupravara of the donee of this inscription.

[125]Sircar ([528], p. 277, ll. 17-18) reads the relevant portion of the text as follows: "Kauṇḍī(ṇḍi)nya-gotrāya Vasiṣṭha-Maitrāvaruṇa-K[au]ṇḍī(ṇḍi)nyat Mai[trā]-Vasiṣṭhat pravara Maitrāvaruṇat anupravara." He suggests (n. 9) that this should be read either as "Kauṇḍinya-Vāsiṣṭha-Maitrāvaruṇa-pravarāya" or as "Vāsiṣṭha-pravarāya Maitrāvaruṇ-ānupravarāya." He points out that the occasional use of 't' at the end of the names of the ṛṣis seems to be due to the alternate style of citing the pravaras—i.e. with the 'vat' endings'.

[126]The Rohitāyanās have a three-ṛṣi pravara: Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Naidhruva (Brough, [59], pp. 159-60). If the 'Rohita' of the inscription is, however, read as 'Lohita,' the pravara and anupravara names match the gotra. The Lohitas have the following pravara: Vaiśvāmitra, Āṣṭaka, Lauhita (p. 147). The anupravara in this inscription is just a repetition of the pravara, except with the addition of 'vat' endings.

[127]The Bhāradvāja gotra has the following three-ṛṣi pravara: Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja (Brough, [59], p. 113). The inscription cites one of these names as the gotra, another as the pravara, and a third as the anupravara of the donee.

the Ganjam plates of Vidyādharabhañja (no. 8), is said to have come from Mammāṇā in Taḍisama viṣaya attached to Varevdhi/Varendhi (Varendri).[128] Bhaṭṭa Ājapāla of the Daspalla plates of Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa (no. 11) is described as hailing from a bhaṭṭagrāma (i.e. a Brāhmaṇa village) named Khaḍuvāvallī in Madhyadeśa,[129] and as a resident of a place called Santoṣamādhava. The donee of the Ganjam plates of Śatrubhañja (no. 12) was Bhaṭṭaputra Bāppi, who came from Śrīkheḍha in Dakṣiṇāpatha (South India) and was a resident of Oḍijoṅga. Bhaṭṭa Dāuli, the donee of the plates of Neṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa (no. 13), came from Vātalaviḍima and was a resident of Kolakhali. Thus, there is evidence in this set of inscriptions of at least three of the Brāhmaṇa donees being immigrants into Orissa.

Some of the Brāhmaṇa names mentioned in this set of inscriptions have the suffixes deva and śarman; many of the names are without any suffix. The names of the donees are often prefixed with the epithet bhaṭṭa. The donees of the Ganjam plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 2) describe the eight donees as agnihotrins. The term agnihotrin occurs in the plates of Śilābhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa (no. 6); here it is attached to the name of the father of the donee Bhaṭṭa Lumvādeva.

The Baripada stone inscriptions

All three of the Baripada inscriptions seem to record endowments to deities.

The Ādi-Bhañja grants

Six of the nine Ādi-Bhañja copperplate inscriptions record royal endowments to Brāhmaṇas (the other three are secular grants).[130] The Brāhmaṇa donees are in all cases individual Brāhmaṇas.

The Brāhmaṇas of the Ādi-Bhañja grants are usually identified by their name, gotra, pravara, and the name of their father and/or grandfather. The exception is the Khiching plate of Mahanmadāhavabhañja (no. 5), which only gives the name of the donee and his father, and the Khandadeuli plate of Narendrabhañja (no. 8), which gives the name of the donee, his gotra, and the name of his father and grandfather. It may be noted that the inscriptions generally indicate the number of ṛṣis that constituted the

[128]See *supra*, n. 113.

[129]See *supra*, n. 96.

[130]The actual number of grants to Brāhmaṇas recorded in these six inscriptions is eight, as the two Ādipur plates of Narendrabhañja (nos. 1 and 2) record grants made by Narendrabhañja as well as Raṇabhañja.

donee's pravara—e. g. try-ārṣeya or pañc-ārṣeya. Some of the inscriptions give, additionally, one of the pravara names. Thus, one of the Ādipur plates of Narendrabhañja (no. 2) refers the donee to the Vatsa gotra and the pañc-ārṣeya Jāmadagnya pravara. The donee of the Keśari plate of Śatrubhañja (no. 7) is described as having the Vāsiṣṭha gotra and the Vāsiṣṭha pravara. The beneficiary of the Khandadeuli plate of Narendrabhañja (no. 8) had the Śāṇḍilya gotra and the Śāṇḍilya pravara.

Three of the inscriptions indicate the Vedic school to which the Brāhmaṇa donees were affiliated: the donee of the Adipur plate of Narendrabhañja (no. 1) belonged to the Āśvalāyana śākhā of the Bahvṛca caraṇa. The donee of the other Adipur plate (no. 2) belonged to the Bahvṛca śākhā. The donee of the Ukhunda plate of Pṛthvībhañja (no. 6) was affiliated to the *Yajur Veda* caraṇa.

The native place of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries is specified in three of the grants, one of these also giving the place of residence of the donee: Bhaṭṭaputra Śi(Śī)tala[deva]śarmman, the donee of the Adipur grant of Narendrabhañja (no. 1), is said to have come from Tilapudraka. Bhaṭṭa D[e*]vadevadāma, the beneficiary of the other Adipur grant of Narendrabhañja (no. 2), is described as having come from bhaṭṭagrāma (the Brāhmaṇa village) Ālavida.../Allāvadraha in Oḍra viṣaya,[131] and as a resident of Rāmaparkaṭi grāma in Khijjiṅga-maṇḍala. Rāmaparkaṭi has been identified with Ramasahi in Kiapir in Joshipur pargana.[132] Bhaṭṭaputra Daṇḍapāṇi, the donee of the Keśari plate of Śatrubhañja (no. 7), is described as hailing from Madhya-deśa.[133]

The suffix śarmman occurs in a few names, but many of the Brāhmaṇa names mentioned in this set of inscriptions have no suffixes. The epithets bhaṭṭa or bhaṭṭaputra occur in several cases.

The Jurāḍā grant of Neṭṭabhañja

The beneficiary of the grant made by Neṭṭabhañja of the Jurāḍā plates was a Brāhmaṇa named Śrī Vā[ppa]nna, son of bhaṭṭa Santoṣa and grandson of bhaṭṭa Guheśvara. This donee is described as a pātra, i.e. a minister,[134] apparently of the king. He is described as having the Vaiśvāmitra gotra and a pañc-ārṣeya (five-ṛṣi) pravara. It may be noted that the Viśvāmitras have, in fact, a three-ṛṣi pravara: Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta,

[131]See *supra*, n. 118. [132]Majumdar, [284], p. 158. [133]See *supra*, n. 96.

[134]Sircar, ([486], p. 244)l. 17 of the Jurāḍā grant of Neṭṭabhañja refers to another 'pātra'—Yaśodhara—among the names and titles of persons with whose cognisance the grant was made.

Audala.[135] Vā[ppa]nna is further said to be a student of the Kāṇva śākhā of the *Yajurveda* and to have come from Gaṅgavāḍi (in Karnataka).

The grants of the Bhañjas of Baudh

Both of the inscriptions of the Bhañjas of Baudh record royal endowments to Brāhmaṇas. Three generations of Brāhmaṇas are eulogized in verse in the Baudh grant of Saloṇabhañja. This inscription refers to the donee, one upāsanin[136] Mahādeva, as a logician (tārkika), as one who knows the Vedānta (jñāta-vedānta), as one learned in the Veda (veda-vit), and as a poet (kavi). He is said to be the son of Kṛṣṇa, who is/was learned in the *Yajurveda*, who knows/knew the nature of the ātman (ātmavit), and whose mind is/was fixed on brahman (brahma-nyasta-manaskaḥ); and the grandson of Goula, a vipra (Brāhmaṇa)[137] from Madhya-deśa,[138] learned in the Śruti, Smṛti, and Purāṇa, and belonging to the Kāśyapa gotra. Mahādeva, thus, belonged to a learned Brāhmaṇa family that had migrated to Orissa from Madhya-deśa during the time of the donee's grandfather. The donee of the Baudh grant of Kanakabhañja was Harivaṁsa(śa), the son of Dhanapati and grandson of Arthapati. The donee is described as virtuous, munificent, learned, and the best among Brāhmaṇas (dvija-varottamaḥ). The piety and learning of his father and grandfather are also eulogized. His father, Dhanapati, is described as learned, virtuous, and foremost among Brāhmaṇas, and his grandfather Arthapati as foremost among the virtuous. Harivaṁsa(śa) is said to belong to the Parāśara gotra and to have a three-ṛṣi pravara. He is also described as hailing from Hastigrāma in Madhyadeśa.[139] According to Rajaguru and Tripathi, the grant was made for the purpose of Candikāvaraṇa (sic) i.e. the Brāhmaṇa was invited for the recitation of the Candi (Saptasati Candi) before the goddess Candikā.[140]

The grants of the Bhañjas of Kolāḍa

Both the inscriptions of the Bhañja kings of Kolāḍa record grants of

[135]Brough, [59], pp. 150-51.

[136]According to Sircar ([486], p. 352), 'upāsanin' is a title or family name of Brāhmaṇas. Citrarekha Gupta ([172]. pp. 49-50) suggests that the epithet upāsanin may have originally referred to a Brāhmaṇa who maintained the aupāsana or domestic fire.

[137]The word 'vipra' (derived from the root 'vip,' to tremble, shake, etc.) is used to denote a sage, and often applied to Brāhmaṇas in particular (*SED*, pp. 972-73).

[138]See *supra*, n. 96.

[139]See *supra*, n. 96.

[140]Rajaguru and Tripathy, [406], p. 17. Rajaguru and Tripathy also point out that inviting a Brāhmaṇa for this recitation is a practice still followed by the royal family of Orissa in the month of Āśvina during Dasaharā.

land to the same Brāhmaṇa. The donee of the Antirigam plates of Yaśabhañjadeva was Jagadharaśarmman, described as well-versed in the duties enjoined in the Śruti and Smṛti, as well as in astrology. Jagadharaśarmman is said to hail from Vapabhūmi grāma in the midst of Thīhāra viṣaya. Thīhāra has been identified with Tikkarapada in Gumsur district,[141] and Vapabhūmi village with Boppangi in Gumsur taluk.[142] He is said to be a resident of Paṭṭavāḍa pāṭaka attached to Koṇṭarāvaṅga viṣaya. (The headquarters of Koṇṭarāvaṅga viṣaya has been identified with Kotayagada in Chatrapur taluk, eight miles from Patapatanam).[143] The donee belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra, and had the Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya, and Bhāradvāja pravara. He was a student of the Mādhyaṁdina śākhā of the *Yajurveda*. Jagadhara is described as the son of Dhārādhara, learned in the Śruti, Smṛti, and astrology, the grandson of the astrologer (jyautiṣika) Srīdhara, and the great-grandson of Anantakaṇṭha paṇḍita. The references to the Brāhmaṇa donee as well as his ancestors as astrologers is noteworthy; they may have been astrologers attached to the court. The donee of the Antirigam plates of Jayabhañjadeva was daivajña[144] Śrī Jagadhara, son of paṇḍita Dhārādhara, evidently the same person as the one who benefitted from the grant of Yaśabhañja. Here, he is described as belonging to the community of Ṭākarī Brāhmaṇas of Madhyadeśa[145] and as having come from Paṭavāda pāṭaka in Ko[ṇḍa]rāvaṅga viṣaya in Dakṣiṇa Tosala.[146] The details of his gotra and pravara, as well as the Vedic school he was a student of, correspond to those given in the grant of Yaśabhañjadeva.[147]

The Bonai plate of Udayavarāha

The Bonai plate of Udayavarāha records an endowment of land to two Brāhmaṇas. One of the donees was Bhaṭṭa Puruṣottama, the son of Keśava and grandson of Bhaṭṭa Ujola. He is described as having the Parāśara gotra, the Vāsiṣṭha and Śakti pravara, and the Vājasaneya caraṇa, and is said to to come from Konara. The second donee was bhaṭṭa Bachāpā, son of Bhaṭṭa

[141]This is an identification suggested by R. Krishnamacharlu in an editorial note in Hiralal, [187], p. 303.

[142]Hiralal, [187], p. 302. [143]Hiralal, [187].

[144]This epithet evidently means 'one who knows fate or men's destinies' (*SED*, p. 497); it evidently refers to the donee's knowledge of astrology.

[145]See *supra*, n. 96.

[146]Dakṣiṇa Tosala included modern Puri, as well as parts of Cuttack and Ganjam districts.

[147]It may be noted that Jagadhara is the chief donee of the Kapoteswar plates of Aniyaṅkabhīma III. (See Rajaguru, [390], pp. 43-48.)

Uchāha and grandson of Bhaṭṭa Trivikrama. This donee belonged to the Kauśika gotra and had a try-ārṣeya (three-ṛṣi) pravara.

The Madras Museum plates of Narendradhavala

This inscription does not record a royal grant.

The Śulkī grants

All ten Śulkī inscriptions record royal endowments of land to individual Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇas are usually identified by their name, gotra, pravara, and the name of their father and/or grandfather and native place. The śākhā and/or caraṇa are specified in several inscriptions.

Some of the Śulkī inscriptions simply refer to the number of ṛṣi-names constituting the pravara of the donee, while others specify these names. There are a few discrepancies in the gotras and pravaras of the donees. Vāvana or Vṛveṇa, the donee of the Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha (no. 4), is said to have the Śāṇḍilya gotra, and the Āsita and Daivala pravara. Śāṇḍilya has been left out of the list.[148] Cāndavacha, the donee of the Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha (no. 5) had the Kāśyapa gotra and the Naidhruva pravara. This pravara is incomplete.[149] There is a difference of opinion concerning the beneficiary of another Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha (no. 6). According to Hara Prasad Shastri, the grant was made in favour of Citradīkṣita Govarahuti, who had the Yajñāḍha-Parāśara gotra and the Trigargya pravara,[150] while according to A. Banerji-Sastri, the donee was one Dhirivvaraṅgatiśarman of the Śuṅga pravara.[151] It may be pointed out that there is no gotra by the name of Yajñāḍha-Parāśara, nor a pravara by the name of Trigargya.[152] The fault probably lies either with the scribe of the inscription or with Shastri's reading of its text. According to Manmohan Chakravarti's reading, the donee of the Puri plate of Kulastambha (no. 9) was Madhusodan, who belonged to the Vatsa gotra and the Yaśvārśaya pravara.[153] There is no gotra by the name of Yaśvāriśaya.

[148]The Śaṇḍilas can have the following pravara: Śāṇḍila, Āsita, Daivala (Brough, [59], p. 161).

[149]The Baudhāyana list gives the pravara of the Nidhruva-Kaśyapas as Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Naidhruva (Brough, [59], p. 160).

[150]Shastri, [464], p. 415, ll. 23-24. [151]Banerji-Sastri, [40], p. 323, ll. 24, 25.

[152]Even if the gotra is taken as Parāśara, and the pravara as Gārgya, the gotra and pravara do not match: the Parāśaras have the pravara of Vāsiṣṭha, Śāktya, Pārāśarya (Brough, [59], p. 176).

[153]Chakravarti, [61], pp. 126-7.

Again, this seems to be a case of careless incising or faulty reading of the text of the inscription.[154]

The Vedic schools represented by the beneficiaries of the Śulkī grants are as follows: Chandoga-Kauthuma (one grant),[155] *Yajurveda* (one grant), Vājasaneya (one grant),[156] Kāṇva (one grant), and Mādhyaṁdina (two grants).

Eight of the Śulkī grants indicate the native place of the donee. Paucuka, the donee of the grant of Raṇastambhadeva (no. 2), is described as having come from Tillaṁga/Tellaṁgala bhaṭṭagrāma (i.e. a Brāhmaṇa village) in Rāḍha maṇḍala.[157] The donee of the Talcher plate of Kulastambha alias Raṇastambha (no. 3) was Bhaṭṭaputra Visva(śva)rūpa from Maṁgalavilā. The beneficiary of the Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha (no. 4), Vāvana/ Vṛveṇa, came from Kolāñca.[158] Cāndavacha, the donee of the Dhenkanal plate of Jayastambha (no. 5), came from Mutāvaṣu (Mutāvasu).[159] The donee of the Dhenkanal plate of Jayastambha (no. 6) was Citradīkṣita Govarahuti or Dhirivvararaṁgatiśarman from Hastipada.[160] The donee of the Dhenkanal plate of Kulastambha (no. 7) was bhaṭa Vṛ(Bṛ)haspati from Nidhatir (Nidhati?) grāma in Madhyadeśa(śa).[161] The donee of the Puri plate of Kulastambha (no. 9) may have come from Atidhā.[162] Bhaṭṭaputra Velluka of the Puri plate of Kulastambha (no. 10) hailed from Āviddhā.

Some of the Śulkī inscriptions give some additional descriptive material about the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of the royal grants. The Dhenkanal plate of Raṇastambha (no. 1) describes Sudarśanadeva as one who is

[154]It may be suggested that what has been read as 'Trigārgya' in inscription no. 6 and as 'Yaśvāriśaya' in no. 9, may actually be 'try-ārṣeya' and 'pañc-ārśeya' respectively.

[155]The donee of the Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha (no. 4) came from Rāḍha. Sircar ([482], pp. 47-48) points out that the present-day Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas all claim to be affiliated to the *Sāmaveda*.

[156]This is Shastri's reading ([464], p. 398, l. 16). According to Banerji-Sastri's reading the text of ll. 16-17 of the inscription in question ([40], p. 319), the donee was a student of the Vājasaneya, Kāṇva, and Bhṛgu recensions. It may be pointed out that there is no recension of the Veda by the name of Bhṛgu.

[157]See *supra*, n. 72.

[158]See *supra*, n. 98.

[159]Perhaps this is a mistake for Muktāvastu. The Talcher plates of Gayāḍatuṅga locate Mūthāutha (Muktāvastu) in Varendra-maṇḍala (in Bengal), and the Kalibhana plates of Somavaṁśī Mahābhavagupta locate Muktāvathi (Muktāvastu) in Śrāvasti. The village in question has been variously located by different scholars in Madhyadeśa, Bengal, or Assam (see Dutta, [99], p. 22).

[160]Shastri reads Dastipāda, which seems to be an incorrect reading. According to Sircar and Rath ([543], p. 241), the identification of Hastipada is uncertain, but this place-name is reminiscent of the celebrated Hastigrāma near Vaiśāli (modern Besarh in Muzaffarpur district in north Bihar).

[161]See *supra*, n. 96.

[162]Misra ([310], p. 29) identifies Athidhā with Ayodhyā.

constantly engaged in making oblations (homa), recitation of the Veda or study (svādhyāya), the repeated recitation of prayers or passages from the scriptures (japa), austerities or meditation (tapas), and mental control (niyama). He is further characterized as one whose mind is intent upon the performance of acts ordained in the Vedas (ved-odita-krīyā) and devoted to the worship of men, gods, the twice-born, elders, and guests. In the Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha (no. 4), bhaṭṭaputra Nirvāṇa, the father of the donee Vāvana/Vṛveṇa, is described as well-versed in the knowledge of the three Vedas (trayī vidyā). The donee of the Dhenkanal plate of Jayastambha (no. 6) as well as the donee's father are given the epithet 'citra-dīkṣita,' which is translated as 'well-initiated' by A. Banerji-Sastri.[163] Bhaṭṭa Vṛ(Bṛ)haspati, the beneficiary of the Dhenkanal plate of Kulastambha (no. 7), is described as a parama-vaiṣṇava, in addition to being identified by his gotra, pravara, caraṇa (*Yajurveda*), śākhā (Mādhyaṁdina), and ancestry. The donee of the Hindol plate of Kulastambha (no. 8) was an agnihotrin, and is described as one who is intent on the recitation and repetition of sacred works, purity, performing sacrifices (for others), self-restraint, and religious austerities (japa-svādhyāya-śauca-yājana-niyama-tapo-bhāvit-ātman) and as a person endowed with good qualities and virtuous conduct (śīla-guṇa-samudācāra-yukta).

The Brāhmaṇa name suffixes that occur in the Śulkī grants are deva and svāmin. The names of the Brāhmaṇas are invariably prefixed with 'bhaṭṭa' or 'bhaṭṭaputra.'

The Tuṅga grants

All five Tuṅga inscriptions record grants of land to Brāhmaṇas. Three of these were made to individual Brāhmaṇas, and two to more than one Brāhmaṇa. In the latter category are the Talcher plate of Gayāḍatuṅga (no. 2) which records a grant to three Brāhmaṇas and the Asiatic Society plate of Gayāḍatuṅga (no. 3), which records an endowment made to twenty-two Brāhmaṇas (some of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of this inscription are groups of brothers).

The Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of the Tuṅga endowments are identified by their name, gotra, pravara, and the name of their father and/or grandfather. The native place and/or place of residence is specified in all but one inscription (no. 4). The Vedic school of the Brāhmaṇa donees is indicated only in two inscriptions.

[163]Banerji-Sastri, [40], p. 325.

The anupravara of the donee appears in one inscription—the Kharagaprasada plate of Vinītatuṅga (no. 5). Bhaṭṭa Iśāna, the donee, is here described as belonging to the Kāśyapa gotra, and as having the Āvatsāra pravara,[164] and the Naidhruva anupravara.

The Vedic schools represented by the beneficiaries of the Tuṅga grants are as follows: Chandoga-Kauthuma (one grant) and Kāṇva (one grant).[165]

The Tuṅga grants provide information on the native place and place of residence of many of the donees. Bhaṭṭa Bhāināḍeṁrva(deva), the donee of the Talcher plate of Gayāḍatuṅga (no. 1), is described as belonging to a traivedya family (i.e. a family learned in the three Vedas) of a place called Śrīcchātra. The other Talcher plate of Gayāḍatuṅga (no. 2) specifies the native place as well as place of residence of two of its three donees. One of them was Bhaṭṭaputra Devaśarman from Mūthāutha bhaṭṭagrāma (a Brāhmaṇa village) in Varendra-maṇḍala,[166] a resident of Sāvira bhaṭṭagrāma in Oḍra viṣaya.[167] The other was Bhaṭṭaputra Vāsudeva from Sāvathi (Śrāvasti), a resident of Yamagarta-maṇḍala. The third donee may also have been a resident of Yamagarta-maṇḍala, as he may have been a son of the second donee. Mūthāuthā has been identified with Muktavastu (mentioned as the home of donees in many royal charters),[168] while Sāvathi (Śrāvasti) may refer to the area around Baigram in the Bogra district of north Bengal;[169] thus both donees seem to have been Brāhmaṇas of north Bengal settled in Orissa. Yamagarta has been identified by B. Misra with Jamagadia in the old Angul State.[170] The beneficiaries of the Asiatic Society plate of Gayāḍatuṅga (no. 3) number twenty-two. Of these, the one who received foremost mention was Bhaṭṭaputra Dādo, who is said to have come from Ahichatra (Ahicchatra, in modern Uttar Pradesh) and was a resident of Kūruvā bhaṭṭagrāma in Oḍra viṣaya.[171] It is possible, but not certain, that these details apply to the other donees of this grant as well. The Kharagaprasada plate of Vinītatuṅga (no. 5) records a grant to Bhaṭṭa Iśāna, described as hailing from Poḍi and as a resident of Koṭamala. Poḍi has been identified with Puṇḍi in Srikakulam district on the Howrah-Madras railway line.[172]

[164]Rath ([424], p. 254, l. 25 and n. 8) thinks that the pravara should be read as Vatsa, but the gotra and anupravara match with Āvatsāra.

[165]Two of the three donees of this grant are specifically described as belonging to this gotra, though it is quite likely that that the third donee belonged to it also.

[166]See *supra*, n. 113. [167]See *supra*, n. 118.

[168]Sircar, [484], p. 98. On Muktāvastu, see *supra*, n. 159.

[169]See *supra*, n. 96. [170]Misra, [310], p. 40. [171]See *supra*, n. 118.

[172]Rath, [424], p. 247.

The suffixes of Brāhmaṇa names that occur in the Tuṅga grants are deva, śarman, ojhā,[173] and ghoṣa; many of the names have no suffixes. The father of two of the donees of the Asiatic Society plate of Gayāḍatuṅga (no. 3) has 'dīkṣita' attached to his name. The names of the Brāhmaṇas are often preceded with the epithet bhaṭṭa or bhaṭṭaputra.

The Dhenkanal plate of Jayasiṁha

The beneficiaries of the Dhenkanal grant of Jayasiṁha were two Brāhmaṇas named Mahendrasvāmin and Skandasvāmin. They are described as belonging to the Autathya (Aucathya) gotra, and Bahvṛca carana.[174]

The Nandodbhava grants

Five of the six grants of the Nandodbhava kings record endowments to Brāhmaṇas (the remaining one being a secular grant to a Kāyastha, probably a sandhivigrahika). Of these, four inscriptions record grants made to individual Brāhmaṇas, while one inscription—the Tamra plate of Devānandadeva (no. 4)—records an endowment made in favour of three Brāhmaṇas.

The Brāhmaṇa donees of the Tuṅga copperplate grants are identified usually by their name, gotra, pravara, the name of their father and grandfather, and in some cases, by Vedic school, native place and place of residence as well.

It may be noted that the names of the pravara-ṛṣis are only specified in one of the Talcher plates of Gayāḍatuṅga (no. 1). The other inscriptions simply indicate the number of ṛṣis that constituted the donee's pravara (tryārṣya or pañc-ārṣeya). There is one discrepancy in the matter of the gotra and pravara of a donee. Kuladevapāla Bhaṭṭa, the donee of the Jurerpur plate of Devānadadeva (no. 2), is said to have the Ulūka gotra and a pañc-ārṣeya pravara. The Ulūkas, however, have a three-ṛṣi pravara—Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta, and Audala.[175] The donee of the Jayapura or Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadeva (no. 6) is described as having the Bṛhaspati gotra. The Vedic school to which the Brāhmaṇas were affiliated is specified in one (no. 1) of the six Nandodbhava inscriptions. The only

[173]Ojhā was apparently derived from the title upādhyāya.

[174]This is the reading of Shastri ([464], p. 418, l. 6). According to Misra ([310], p. 25), the donee belonged to the Vājasaneya caraṇa.

[175]Brough, [59], p. 149.

school referred to is the Kāṇva śākhā of the *Yajur Veda* (possibly two grants).[176]

Four of the inscriptions indicate the native place, and three of these the place of residence, of the Brāhmaṇas. Vasma(Brahma?)ddharabhāṭa-(bhaṭṭa), the donee of the Baripada Museum plate of Devānandadeva (no. 1), is described as hailing from Puṇḍavarddhana (Puṇḍravarddhana)[177] and as belonging to Jamva(ba)-Nārāyaṇapura, which appears to have been a Brāhmaṇa settlement. The donees of the Jurerpur plate of Devānandadeva (no. 2) was Kuladevapāla Bhaṭṭa, who came from Rāḍha[178] and was a resident of a place, the name of which is not clear in the inscription (it ends in 'pura'). The three donees of the Tamra plate of Devānandadeva (no. 4) were Brāhmaṇas from Hastīpada.[179] The Jayapura or Tamul plate of Dhruvānandadeva (no. 6) records an endowment to a Brāhmaṇa whose name may have been Bāmana, who came from Suparvatyopeta-Khasyavaṇa (?) and was a resident of Jāmvūvādā.

The Baripada Museum plates of Devānandadeva (no. 1) describe the donee as a hotā (i.e. hotṛ)[180] and as 'ṛicavāvasa-vat dityadhavya.'[181] The donee as well as the father of the donee in the Tamra plate of Devānanda-deva (no. 4) are referred to as dīkṣitas.

The names of the Brāhmaṇas are in some cases prefixed with the epithet bhaṭṭaputra or followed by bhaṭṭa.

The Hindol plate of Vīra-Pracaṇḍadeva

The Hindol plate of Vīra-Pracaṇḍadeva records an endowment to three Brāhmaṇas—Bhaṭṭaputra Duvaṇandi(nandi), Thiraṇandi(nandi) and

[176]According to Rajaguru's summary of the contents of this inscription ([397], pp. 115-20), the donees of this grant were students of the *Yajurveda*. There is no reference to this, however, in the text of the inscription as given by Rajaguru himself.

[177]Puṇḍravardhana was a geographical term denoting the area of north Bengal. In the seventh century, it included the Malda, Dinajpur, Rajshahi, and portions of Bogra and Rangpur districts lying to the west of the Karatoya river (Sen, [454], pp. 105-6). In the early medieval period, Puṇḍravardhana was an important province of the Pāla kings from the time of Dharmapāla to Madanapāla, and is also mentioned in the inscriptions of the Candras, Varmans, and Senas.

[178]See *supra*, n. 160.

[179]The name of the place of residence of the donees also seems to be indicated in the inscription, but cannot be made out: the reading of the relevant word in l. 30 is "Ja(ya)jvāttāya," which might be a mistake for "...vāstavyāya." On Hastīpada or Hastipāda, see *supra*, n. 160.

[180]In the sacrificial context, the hotṛ is the reciter par excellence, one of the officiants in charge of reciting the formulae or hymns taken from the *Ṛgveda*; he is also the agent of every act in the sacrifice whose author is not specified. The word hotṛ can also designate an officiant in the sacrifice in general (Renou, [433], pp. 175-76).

[181]The meaning of this latter epithet is not clear.

Bhagaṇandi(nandi). The three donees are described as sons of bhaṭṭaputra Raviṇandi(nandi). Rajaguru reads "Vacā(tsā)ra-Naidhruva" in line 28 and suggests that the donees may have had the Vatsa gotra and the Naidhruva pravara.[182] It may be noted, however, that this gotra and pravara do not match.[183] They are said to belong to the *Yajur Veda* caraṇa and to have come from a Brāhmaṇa village (bhaṭṭagrāma) in Varaindri (Varendri).[184]

The Somavaṁśī grants

Twenty-four of the Somavaṁśī inscriptions record royal grants to Brāhmaṇas.[185] Of these, twenty-one were made in favour of individual Brāhmaṇas and three to more than one Brāhmaṇa. In the latter category are the Patna plates of Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta (no. 3), which record a grant to four Brāhmaṇas, another set of Patna plates of the same king (no. 4), which record a grant to two Brāhmaṇas, and the Narasinghpur plates of Udyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta (no. 22), which record a benefaction made in favour of two Brāhmaṇas.

The Somavaṁśī land grant charters usually identify the Brāhmaṇa donees by their name, gotra, pravara, Vedic school, the name of the father and/or grandfather, native place, and place of residence.

Four inscriptions reveal Brāhmaṇas whose gotra and pravara do not match. The donee of the Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 21) was Bhaṭṭaputra Sa(sva)rodayī Śrī Yaśakara of the Parāśara gotra and the Ātreya pravara. The Parāśara gotra actually has the pravara of Vāsiṣṭha, Śāktya, and Pārāśarya.[186] The donee of the Kudopali plates of the time of Mahābhavagupta (no. 24) was Bhaṭṭaputra Śrī Nārāyaṇa of the

[182]Rajaguru, [382], p. 7.

[183]The Vatsas have a five-ṛṣi pravara—Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Jāmadagnya (Brough, [59], p. 81). According to one of the lists, (p. 93), the Jāmadagnya-Vatsas have the above five-ṛṣi pravara, but those who are not Jāmadagnyas have Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna.

[184]See *supra*, n. 113.

[185]Of the remaining inscriptions, no. 33 records a grant to a Śaiva temple; no. 27 records the construction of a Śaiva temple by the mother of the king Udyotakeśarī; no. 7 records a royal grant made to the merchants' association of Kamalavana, which in turn gifted the land to two temples; no. 23, which may not be a royal inscription, records certain Jaina benefactions; no. 26 seems to record a grant made to a courtesan; the rest of the inscriptions record private Buddhist or Jaina benefactions made during the reigns of Somavaṁśī kings. One of the royal grants made in favour of Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries, the Sonpur plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva (no. 30), was made at the request of Nāyaka Śrī Mahīpati and Bhaṭṭa Śrī Aniruddha; both these individuals seem to have shared the titles of mahāsandhivigrahika and rāṇaka.

[186]Brough, [59], p. 176.

Kauṇḍinya gotra and the Maitrāvaruṇa pravara. The Kauṇḍinya gotra may have the pravara of Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya, and Bhāradvāja, or Vāsiṣṭha, Maitrāvaruṇa, and Kauṇḍinya.[187] The donee of the Sonpur plates of the time of Kumāra Someśvaradeva (no. 30) was Bhaṭṭa Udayakarasa(śa)-mma(rmma)n who had the Kumārahārita gotra and a five-ṛṣi pravara. The donee of the stray plate found at Sonepur (no. 31) was Bhaṭṭaputra Ābhābhakaraśra(śa)mma(rmma)n, apparently the son of Udayakara-śarmman (of no. 30), with the same gotra and pravara details as his father. The Kumārahārita gotra does not appear in the gotra lists. There is a Hārita gotra which, however, has a three-ṛṣi pravara: Āṅgirasa, Āmbarīṣa, Yauvanāśva; or Māndhātra, Āmbarīṣa, Yauvanāśva.[188]

Two of the inscriptions mention the anupravara of the beneficiaries. These are the Patna plates of Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta (no. 3) and the Gaintala plates of Mahābhavagupta (no. 6). The former refers to four Brāhmaṇa donees, specifying the anupravara of three of them: one of the donees was Dāmāka, of the Kautsa gotra, the Āṅgirasa, Āmbarīṣa, and Yauvanāśva pravara, and the Yauvanāśvavat, Āmbarīśavat, Āṅgirasavat anupravara;[189] another (whose name appears to have been inadvertently omitted), is said to belong to the Gautama gotra, to have the Āṅgirasa pravara, and the Bārhaspatya anupravara;[190] a third donee, Bhaṭṭaputra Vāsū(su)deva, had the Kṛṣṇātreya gotra, the Ārcanānasa pravara, and the Śyāvāśvana anupravara;[191] a fourth donee was Koṇḍadeva of the Agasti gotra, the Idhmavāha pravara, and the Cyāvana anupravara.[192] The donee of the Gaintala plates, Bhaṭṭaputra Śrī Tiku, belonged to Vatsa gotra, had the Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, and Jāmadagnya pravara, and

[187]Brough, [59], pp. 113, 180.

[188]Brough, [59], p. 128.

[189]The text reads: "Kaucch(tsa)-gotraḥ Aṅgirasa-Varṣa-Yo(Yau)vanāśva-pravaraḥ Yūvanaśvad-Amvariṣad-Aṅgira-ānupravara" (Fleet, [129], p. 342, ll. 10-11). The Kautsas have the pravara indicated in this inscription (See Brough, [59], pp. 121-22). The anupravara given for this donee in the inscription is the pravara list in reverse order, with the addition of 'vat' suffixes.

[190]Bārhaspatya does not figure among the pravara-ṛṣis of the Gautama gotra except in the Āśvalāyana list (as quoted in Brough, [59], p. 108). The latter list includes the Ṛkṣas in the Gautama gaṇa and gives the pravara of the Ṛkṣas as: Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Vāndana, and Mātavacasa. Even so, the gotra and pravara of the donee do not match.

[191]The Kṛṣṇātreyas have the following pravara: Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Śyāvāśva (Brough, [59], pp. 139-40).

[192]According to some pravara lists (Brough, [59], p. 188), the Agasti gotra has the following pravara: Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Aiḍhamavāha. Āpastamba gives the alternative of the one-ṛṣi pravara of Āgastya. Āśvalāyana gives the alternative of Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Saumavāha. The *Matsya Purāṇa* list gives for the Agastis the pravara of Agastya, Mahendra, Mayobhuva (Brough, [59], pp. 188, 189, 192).

the Jāmadagnya, Aurva, Āpnavāna, Cyāvana, and Bhārgava anupravara.[193]

The Vedic schools represented by the beneficiaries of the Somavaṁśī grants are as follows: Bahvṛca (one grant); *Ṛgveda* (two grants); Chandoga (one grant); Chandoga-Kauthuma (two grants); Kauthuma (one grant); Vājasaneya (two grants); Vājasaneya-Mādhyaṁdina (four grants); Mādhyaṁdina-Kāṇva (two grants); Kāṇva (four grants—one with two donees); Gautama (two grants); Maitrāyaṇīya (one grant).

The information on the native place and the place of residence of the Brāhmaṇas is as follows: The donee of the Vakrantentali plates of Mahābhavagupta I (no. 1) was Bhaṭṭaputra Jātarūpa, who came from Rāḍhāphaṁvallikandara and was a resident of Meraṇḍā. Bhaṭṭaputra Śrī Govinda, the donee of the Kalibhana plates of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya (no. 2), came from Hastipada[194] and was resident of Jambu grāma. The beneficiaries of the Patna plates of Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta (no. 3) had the following background: Bhaṭṭaputra Dāmāka came from Pampāsarasi(sī) and was a resident of Leiśṛṁga (identified with Loisinga village in Bolangir district[195]); the second donee (whose name is not given) came from Oḍayaśṛṁgā and was a resident of Khaṇḍakṣetra;[196] bhaṭṭaputra Vāsū(su)deva came from Koṁkaleḍḍa and was a resident of Lipatuṁga; the fourth donee, Koṇḍadeva, came from Kaliṁga[197] and was a resident of Pampāsarasi(sī).[198] The two donees of the Patna plates of Mahābhavagupta (no. 4) were Bhaṭṭaputra Śrī Keśava and Apya, both of whom came from Kommāpira and resided in Loiśṛṁgā.[199] Bhaṭṭaputra Śrī Sānthakara, the donee of the Nagpur Museum plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya (no. 5), came from Puruṣamaṇḍapa grāma in Oḍra deśa[200] and was resident of Murujuṁga grāma. Bhaṭṭaputra Śrī Tiku of the Gaintala plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya (no. 6) is described as having come from Śāluvi

[193]The Vatsas have the pravara indicated in the inscription. The anupravara given in the inscription apparently consists of an enumeration of the pravara ṛṣis in the reverse order.

[194]According to Sircar and Rath ([543], p. 241), the identification of Hastipada is uncertain, but this place-name is reminiscent of the celebrated Hastigrāma near Vaiśāli (modern Besarh in Muzaffarpur district in north Bihar).

[195]Rajaguru, [404], 4, p. 111, n. 3.

[196]The word khaṇḍakṣetra also means a plot of land.

[197]On Kaliṁga, see p. 31, n. 20.

[198]This is the place whence the donee of the Vakrantentali plates of Mahābhavagupta (no. 1) came.

[199]This seems to be the same place where one of the donees of the Patna plates of Mahābhavagupta (no. 3) resided.

[200]See *supra*, n. 118.

grāma in Madhya-deśa[201] and as a resident of Lapusoḍḍā grāma in Kosala deśa.[202] The donee of the Kapāleśvara and the two sets of Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta (nos. 8, 9, 10) was Bhaṭṭa Śrī Mahattama Sādhāraṇa, who hailed from Ṭtakārī (Ṭakārī)[203] and was a resident of Turvunnā in Kośala (i.e. Dakṣiṇa Kośala). Bhaṭṭaputra Śrī Devu, donee of the Kalibhana plates of Mahābhavagupta (no. 11), came from Muktāvathi grāma in Śrāvasti[204] and is described as a resident of Añjaṇi grāma as well as 'sadā-kaṭaka-vāstavya' (always residing in the capital),[205] the latter epithet apparently indicating his association with the court. Śrī Kāko of the Orissa State Museum plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 12) came from Likhaḍiyā grāma in Śrāvasthi (Śrāvasti)[206] and is also described as 'sadā-kaṭaka-vāstavya' (always residing in the capital). The donee of the Balangir plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 13) was Kāmadeva, who hailed from Mādhvāla and was resident of Jalajaḍḍa in Kosala (i.e. Dakṣiṇa Kosala). Śrī Śaṅkhapāṇī(ṇi) of the Cuttack plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 14) came from Śrīvalla grāma in Madhyadeśa[207] and was a resident of Śrī Śilābhañjapāṭi in Oḍra deśa.[208] He is also said to have the 'Ṭakkāra-pūrvva-Bhāradvāja-gotra.'[209] The beneficiary of the Nibinna plates of Mahāśivagupta (no. 15) was Śrī Puṇḍari(rī)kasa(śa)rmman Dīkṣita, who came from Bhaṭa[pa]roli and was a resident of Marameṇḍā grāma in Kosala (i.e. Dakṣiṇa Kosala). Bhaṭṭa Śrī Mahodadhi, the donee of the Patna plates of Mahāśivagupta of the year 24 and 28 (nos. 16, 17), came from Kāsili in Śrāvasti-maṇḍala[210] and was a resident of Antaraḍi in Lāvaḍā viṣaya. The donee of the Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta Bhīmaratha (no. 18) was Rāṇaka Śrī Rāccho, apparently a Brāhmaṇa from Kāsīllī bhaṭṭagrāma in Śrāvasti-maṇḍala[211] and a resident of Sīṅgoā grāma in Devībhoga viṣaya in Kosala (i.e. Dakṣiṇa Kosala). The beneficiary of the Mahakosala Historical Society's plates of Mahābhavagupta (no. 19) was a Bhaṭṭa-brāhmaṇa (no name given) who came from Madhura in Madhya-deśa[212] and was a resident of Ullakheṭa. Ullakheṭa has been tentatively identified with Ulakhara village in the old Sarangarh Feudatory

[201]See *supra*, n. 96.

[202]The reference is probably to Dakṣiṇa Kosala (corresponding to the modern Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region), which was also the homeland of the Somavaṁśīs.

[203]See *supra*, n. 96. [204]See *supra*, n. 96.

[205]'Kaṭaka' may refer to the (royal) camp or to the capital (Sircar, [486], p. 151).

[206]See *supra*, n. 96. [207]See *supra*, n. 96 [208]See *supra*, n. 118.

[209]Fleet, [129], (p. 353, ll. 33-34; p. 354, n. 14) suggests that this may indicate that the donee belonged to a branch of the Bhāradvāja gotra which was formerly settled at Ṭakkāra.

[210]See *supra*, n. 96. [211]See *supra*, n. 96. [212]See *supra*, n. 96.

State, about twenty miles west of Liñjira.[213] The donee of the Jatesinga and Dungri plates of the Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 21) was Bhaṭṭaputra sa(sva)rodayī Śrī Yaśakara, who came from Hastigrāma in Madhyadeśa.[214] The donees of the Narasinghpur plates of Udyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta (no. 22) were two brothers, one of whom, Śrī Śaṅkaraśarmman, is described as having come from Palāsa grāma in Tirabhukti (identified with Tirhut in Bihar[215]). Bhaṭṭaputra Śrī Nārāyaṇa, donee of the Kudopali plates of the time of Mahābhavagupta (no. 24), is said to have come from Hastipada.[216] The donee of the Sonpur plates of Kumāra Someśvara (no. 30) was Bhaṭṭa Udayakarasa(śa)mma(rmma)n, who came from Mahuvāli in Sāvattha (Śrāvasti)-maṇḍala[217] and was a resident of Kamalapura. The stray plate of a Somavaṁśī grant found at Sonepur (no. 31) records an endowment to Bhaṭṭaputra Ābhābhakaraśra(śa)mma(rma)n who, like the donee of no. 30, came from Mahuvāli in Sāvatha (Śrāvasti)-maṇḍala and was, as was he, a resident of Kamalapura.

An examination of the inscriptions yields some additional information on the Brāhmaṇa donees. Sādhāraṇa, the donee of the Kapāleśvara, and the two sets of Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta (nos. 8, 9, 10) has the title 'mahattama.'[218] Lines 37-42 of these three inscriptions, lines 48-51 of the Gaintala plates (no. 6) and lines 44-48 of the Sonepur plates (no. 7) of the same king eulogize one of the king's ministers named Sādhāraṇa, who seems to be no other than the beneficiary of the three above-mentioned grants. This Brāhmaṇa is described in these inscriptions as one whose intellect has been clarified by his knowledge of all the Artha-śāstras and the Smṛti, and one who is possessed of great splendour by virtue of his being a veritable 'sura-guru' (preceptor of the gods, i.e. Bṛhaspati) in his knowledge of the Veda, Vedānta, Śikṣā, Kalpa, and Itihāsa. Thus, Sādhāraṇa (who originally came from Ṭakārī) was a Brāhmaṇa who occupied a prominent administrative position in the Somavaṁśī court and was also a Brāhmaṇa who came to accumulate a large landed estate as a result of royal endowments made to him. The donee of the Kalibhana plates of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya (no. 11), bhaṭṭaputra Śrī Devu, is described as a kāladeśī. This epithet suggests that he may have been an astrologer who indicated auspicious and inauspicious times, and may have been associ-

[213]Pandeya, [233], p. 136. [214]See *supra*, n. 96. [215]Misra, [316], p. 4.
[216]See *supra*, n. 160. [217]See *supra*, n. 96.
[218]Sircar ([486], p. 190) suggests that the term 'mahattama' may refer to a village headman. This does not seem to be the meaning here as the donee was apparently associated with the royal court.

ated with the royal court in this capacity (since he is also described as 'sadā-kaṭaka-vāstavya' i.e. one always residing in the capital). Śrī Puṇḍari-(rī)kasa(śa)rmman, the donee of the Nibinnā plates of Mahāśivagupta (no. 15), bears the epithet of dīkṣita. Bhaṭṭa Śrī Mahodadhi was the beneficiary of the Patna plates of Mahāśivagupta of the year 24 and 28 (nos. 16 & 17), indicating the expansion of this particular Brāhmaṇa's landed estate. Rācco, the donee of the Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta Bhīmaratha (no. 18), who from the description contained in the inscription (the specification of gotra, pravara, caraṇa, śākhā, and the epithet 'bhaṭṭa' prefixed to the names of his grandfather Parameśvara and father Vasiṣṭha) was a Brāhmaṇa, bears the title of rāṇaka.[219] Śrī Abhimanyu, the donee of the Khandpara plates of Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha (no. 20), whose gotra and pravara are mentioned in the inscription, also bears the title of rāṇa.[220] These seem to be Brāhmaṇas who occupied an important political position in relation to the royal court. The donee of the Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 21) has the epithet 'sa(sva)rodayī' (the meaning of which is not clear). Bhaṭṭaputra Ābhābhkaraśra(śa)mma(rmma)n, the donee of the stray plate found at Sonepur (no. 31) was evidently the son of bhaṭṭa Udayakarasa(śa)mma-(rmma)n, the donee of the Sonepur plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva, indicating the expansion of the landed estate of this particular Brāhmaṇa family.

Most of the names of Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the Somavaṁśī inscriptions do not have standard brahmanical suffixes; in a few cases, however, the suffixes deva and śarmman do occur. The names of the Brāhmaṇas are generally preceded by the epithet bhaṭṭa or bhaṭṭaputra.

South and North Orissa

The grants of the imperial Gaṅgas and their feudatories (inscription nos. 41-77)

Only five of the inscriptions of the imperial Gaṅga kings record grants to donees who can be definitely identified as Brāhmaṇas. The rest of the Gaṅga inscriptions record endowments to temples, including the endowment of perpetual lamps, made by the kings, members of the royal family, as well as nāyakas[221] and private individuals on the one hand, and secular

[219]'Rāṇaka' was a title frequently used by feudatory rulers. See Sircar, [486], p. 276.

[220]This probably has the same meaning as 'rāṇaka.'

[221]Sircar, ([486], p. 214) gives several meanings of the term 'nāyaka.' These include: a royal officer; ruling chief; the head of ten villages; a subordinate ruler; a general.

royal grants made by the Gaṅga kings to nāyakas on the other. The Simhipura plates of Dharmakhedi (no. 43), the Kadamba feudatory of Gaṅga king Devendravarman, record a grant to two brothers (probably actually cousins) named Nāyaka Dudurāvalakam and Nāyaka Cāmaṇḍakam. These two nāyakas are said to belong to the Vatsa gotra and to have come from Sālivaṇa-Dadapura.[222] These are not typical Brāhmaṇa donees; it is not clear whether they were Brāhmaṇa nāyakas or whether this is a case of the use of the gotra identification by non-Brāhmaṇas.

All the imperial Gaṅga endowments to Brāhmaṇas were made to more than one Brāhmaṇa. The smallest number of beneficiaries are those of the Chicacole plates of Rājarāja I (no. 58), while the rest of the grants were very large ones—to five hundred Brāhmaṇas (the Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta—no. 53), three hundred Brāhmaṇas (the Galavalli plates of Rājarāja I Devendravarman—no. 57), three hundred Brāhmaṇas (the Korni plates of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga—no. 62), and an additional grant to three hundred Brāhmaṇas (the Korni plates of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga—no. 65). Mention may also be made of the Chikkalavalasa plates of Vajrahasta (no. 50), which record a royal grant to a merchant who made over most of the land to three hundred Brāhmaṇas headed by Māpaya nāyaka.[223]

The beneficiaries of the Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta (no. 53) were five hundred learned Brāhmaṇas, described as engaged in the six acts—yajana, yājana, adhyayana, adhyāpana, (dāna),[224] and pratigraha. The inscription further states that two hundred units of land yielding two hundred murakas (i.e. murajas) of grain were given to Koṭīśvaradeva (apparently a deity) for bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (oblations to the ancestors), naivedya (food offerings), dīpa (lamps), pūjā (worship), etc., and so that the repairs of what was broken in the temple should be

[222]Rajaguru identifies Sālivaṇa of this inscription with the Śālivana mentioned in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa (sarga 71) of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as lying to the west of Ayodhyā, between Ayodhyā and Kaliṅganagara (Rajaguru, [395], p. 175).

[223]The donees of the Narasapatam plates of Vajrahasta (no. 46) were the following: Irugana Śrī Mānāditya-Cotta of the Kāśyapa gotra, grandson of Cotta-Vādayarāja from Pettakallu and son of Śrī Mānāditya-Cotta who was in turn the son of Rūpadevī of the Vaiḍumba family; and Vīra-Bhūriśrava, described as one who stayed away from the women of others and whose mind was fixed on truthfulness. The first donee was apparently a relative of the king, as Vajrahasta's mother, Vinayamahādevī, is known to have belonged to the Vaiḍumba family. (See, for instance, Konow, [241], p. 150, vv. 7-8). The mention of the gotra of this donee, may indicate his Brāhmaṇa status, or may be an instance of the use of the gotra by a non-Brāhmaṇa.

[224]This word seems to have been inadvertently omitted.

effected without fail by the Brāhmaṇas living there.[225] If it may be supposed that this reference is to the three hundred Brāhmaṇas mentioned before, we have here evidence of a large royal endowment made to Brāhmaṇas, who apart from being presented as fulfilling the classic six duties enjoined on Brāhmaṇas by the Dharmaśāstras, were associated with a Śaiva temple establishment.

The donees of the Galavalli plates of Rājarāja I Devendravarman (no. 57) were three hundred Brāhmaṇas. These Brāhmaṇas are described as belonging to the Ātreya gotra and as having the Śyāvāśva-try-ārṣeya pravara. This seems to mean that they had three pravaras including Śyāvāśva.[226] They are further said to have been affiliated to the Chandoga school. Thus, they were Sāma Vedī Brāhmaṇas.

The Chicacole plates of Rājarāja I (no. 58) record a comparatively modest grant, the number of donees being only two. Four parts of the land were assigned to Vāsudevaśarmman who had the Vatsa gotra and was a resident of Kalipura; two parts were for Nārāyaṇaśarmman of the Kāśyapa gotra.

The beneficiaries of the Korni plates (of Śaka 1003) of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (no. 62) were three hundred Brāhmaṇas, described as belonging to various (unspecified) gotras and as engaged in the six acts of yajana, yājana, adhyayana, adhyāpana, dāna, and pratigraha.

The Korni plates (of Śaka 1034) of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (no. 65) state that Khonna and Muḍaparu villages in Varāhavarttini viṣaya had been granted in the Śaka year 1003 by Vajrahasta, the father of Coḍagaṅga, to three hundred Brāhmaṇas of various (unspecified) gotras engaged in the six acts of yajana, yājana, adhyayana, adhyāpana, dāna, and pratigraha. The Korni plates seem to record the additional grant of land measuring 88 units taken from Tūlubu grāma to the same Brāhmaṇa donees of Khonna grāma.

Reference may also be made to the Murupaka grant of Coḍagaṅga (no. 63), which records a grant in favour of the deity Narendreśvaradeva. The protection of the temple establishment (the term used in the inscription is 'deva-sthāna') was entrusted to five Brāhmaṇas of the village. These Brāhmaṇas were apparently priests of the temple; the names of the donees and their fathers are given, and they are described as belonging to the

[225]According to Konow ([240], p. 95, n. 2), Koṭīśvara was evidently the name of the temple of Śiva at Tāmaraceru, the gift village.

[226]The Ātreya gotra has the three-ṛṣi pravara of Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, and Śyāvāśva (Brough, [59], p. 142).

Bhāradvāja gotra.

The Vedic affiliations of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries are indicated only in one inscription, the Gallavalli plates of Rājarāja Devendravarman I (no. 57), which record a grant to three hundred Brāhmaṇas of the Chandoga school.

Summary

Epigraphic evidence indicates that royal land grants to Brāhmaṇas were a feature throughout the period under review (fourth to mid-twelfth century). Till the tenth century, endowments to Brāhmaṇas far outnumbered those to other types of beneficiaries, whether temples or secular donees. With the advent of the imperial Gaṅgas, however, there was a departure from this pattern; there was an increase in grants made by the kings as well as several members of the royal family to temple establishments, as well as a marked increase in the number of grants made to secular beneficiaries, particularly nāyakas or military chiefs.

The inscriptions provide valuable information on Brāhmaṇas in general and Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of royal endowments in particular. The bases of Brāhmaṇa identification in these inscriptions include gotra, pravara, anupravara, śākhā, caraṇa, native place, and place of residence. The ancestry of the Brāhmaṇa donees is infrequently given in the inscriptions of the period designated in this study as Period I (fourth to seventh century), the only instances being the grants of Pṛthivī-mahārāja. The specification of ancestry is somewhat more frequent in Period II (seventh to tenth century), instances where it occurs being one Śailodbhava, seven Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga, and four Bhauma-Kara grants. In Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century), the specification of the name of the father and grandfather of the Brāhmaṇa donees becomes a regular feature, except in the case of grants to very large numbers of Brāhmaṇas.

Gotra: The inscriptions of Orissa provide a few instances of the use of the term 'gotra' in the loose sense of 'family.' For instance, in the Ragolu plates of Śaktivarman, where the grant is said to have been made to Kumāraśarmman of the Sāvarṇṇa gotra, a pañc-ārṣeya Vājasaneyī Brāhmaṇa, and to his eight sons, and thus to his gotra, i.e. family (evam=etasmai gotrāya dattaḥ). Another instance that may be cited is the reference in the Buguda plates of the Śailodbhava king Mādhavavarman to the birth of this particular king having caused his gotra, i.e. family, to blossom forth.[227]

[227]Kielhorn, [231], p. 44, ll. 24-25.

As far as epigraphic evidence from Orissa of the use of gotra in the case of non-Brāhmaṇas is concerned, reference may be made to the Orissa plates of Neṭṭabhañja, one of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala. Here, the donee is described as vaṇij (i.e. merchant) Ivadat(datta)aka, great-grandson of vaṇik Gargadata, grandson of Apadata, and son of Vapadata; Ivadattaka is described as having come from Tṛ(Tri)bhuvanapura in Varendri, and as belonging to the Kāśyapa gotra. This may, however, represent the case of a Brāhmaṇa merchant. More conclusive evidence comes from the Arasavalli plates (no. 49) of the imperial Gaṅga king Vajrahasta. This inscription records a grant of Harisavelli or Arisavalla village to the Meḍapa nāyaka, Viddāma, Meḍama, and Potama, the son and the three daughters respectively of mahāpradhāna Dālampeggaḍa and his wife Mavanaka. The village was subsequently divided into a number of shares assigned to a number of different people, the details being given in the inscription. One part of the village was assigned to Śiriyapa nāyaka, Vajji nāyaka, and Guṇḍama nāyaka, who are described as the sons of Naḍupana nāyaka, a Kāyastha of the Kāśyapa gotra and his wife Paitapā. Among the other claimants to a share of this village were Dāmara nāyaka and Viṇarāyi nāyaka, sons of Kāyastha Caṇḍu nāyaka of the Kāśyapa gotra.[228] Another imperial Gaṅga inscription that may be cited in connection with the use of gotras by non-Brāhmaṇas is the Chikkilavalasa grant (no. 50) of Vajrahasta. The beneficiary of this grant was a sreṣṭhin (merchant), named Mallaya who is described as the son of Somana sreṣṭhin and his wife Erayapā, and as the grand-son of Mādhava, belonging to the Vaiśya community and having the Datta gotra. It may be noted that Datta is not a gotra that appears in the brahmanical lists; nor is it clear in what sense the term gotra is being used here. The Boddapadu plates (no. 51) of the imperial Gaṅga Vajrahasta record the grant of Avareṁga village in favour of the god Jaleśvara. The mādara-manavarttika (probably meaning 'maintenance') was given to Erama, son of Māvaya and his wife Kaṁcapā, grandson of Erayama born in the Vaiśya gotra (Vaiśya-gotr-otpannaḥ). The term gotra has here been used to denote the varṇa of the family to which Erayama belonged.

Apart from these few references that indicate its use by non-Brāhmaṇas (the precise sense in which the term is used in these contexts being far from clear), it is as a basis of Brāhmaṇa identity that gotra is prominent in the inscriptions. In fact, gotra can be seen as the single most consistently

[228]The kāyasthas are an instance of an occupational group (record-keepers) that crystalized into a caste in the early medieval period.

specified basis of the identification of Brāhmaṇas in the inscriptions of Orissa throughout the period under review, from the fourth right down to the mid-twelfth century AD. The gotra names appear in the inscriptions in a variety of different spellings (which have been standardized in the course of this discussion), in some cases probably due to the peculiarities of the local dialect and in others to the carelessness of the drafter or engraver of the inscription. A few gotra names that occur in the inscriptions are not known from the lists given in literature. This could be taken to indicate that the lists are not exhaustive; but it may also indicate errors made by the scribes of the inscriptions, or may betray fictitious Brāhmaṇas. A list of the gotras of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries is given in Appendix V.

Pravara: Among the inscriptions of Orissa, the earliest use of the pravara designation occurs in the Ragolu plates of the Māṭhara king Śaktivarman, and dates roughly to the fourth-fifth century AD. It may be noted that this inscription simply refers to the donee as having a five-ṛṣi pravara, the names of the ṛṣis not being indicated. This is the only specification of pravara, however, to occur in the inscriptions that have been grouped for the purposes of this study into Period I (fourth to seventh century). It is in Period II of our chronological scheme (seventh to tenth century) that the references to the term pravara and the specification of the pravara names (or at least the number of pravara names) of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of royal endowments become frequent. Thus, the pravara is often specified in the inscriptions of the Śailodbhavas, Neṭṭabhañja, Śvetaka Gaṅgas, and Bhauma-Karas. The only exception as far as the specification of the pravara of the Brāhmaṇa donees of Period II is concerned is constituted by the inscriptions of the Kaliṅganagara Gaṅgas of this period, where the pravara names occur only in one record—the Chidivalasa plates of Devendravarman (no. 38). The references to pravara continue in Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century), occurring frequently in the inscriptions of the early and later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala, Ādi-Bhañjas, Neṭṭabhañja of the Jurāḍā grant, Bhañjas of Baud, Bhañjas of Kolāḍa, Udayavarāha of the Bonai plate, Śulkīs, Tuṅgas, Nandodbhavas, Vīra-Pracaṇḍadeva of the Hindol plate, and Somavaṁśīs. The sets of inscriptions where the specification of pravara is either absent or infrequent are the Dhenkanal plate of Jayasiṁha and the grants of the imperial Gaṅgas. In the latter case, the pravara makes its appearance only in one inscription—the Galavalli plates of Rājarāja I (no. 57).

As with the gotras, the pravara names as they appear in the inscriptions of Orissa, display a great degree of orthographic variation. In some cases, the pravara names are given with 'vat' endings, as they appear in the

adhvaryu's formula in the śrauta ritual. In several inscriptions, the name of the eponymous ṛṣi after whom the gotra is named and whose name also forms part of the pravara of that particular gotra is omitted in the specification of the pravara names. Some inscriptions also ascribe to the Brāhmaṇa donees pravaras that do not match their gotras according to the lists given in the Sūtra literature. There are two possible explanations for this: one is the carelessness with which many of the inscriptions seem to have been engraved. Another possibility has been raised by Brough—that non-matching gotras and pravaras may indicate fictitious Brāhmaṇas, i.e. individuals whose bona fides as Brāhmaṇas may be questioned.[229]

Anupravara: The term anupravara, which occurs in several inscriptions of Orissa, is one that is conspicuous by its absence in the Sūtra literature. An examination of the inscriptions where the names of the gotra, pravara, and anupravara match with the gotra and pravara lists of the Sūtra texts yields the following conclusions concerning the anupravara: From the evidence of some inscriptions, it seems that the anupravara names are identical with the pravara names, presented in the same or the reverse order, with or without the 'vat' endings. Thus, in the Badakhimedi plates of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman (no. 14), the anupravara is said to consist of the same five names as the pravara (the names of the latter being specified). The Ganjam plates of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Dānārṇavadeva (no. 15) refer to the same donee as having a pañc-ārṣeya pravara and a pañc-ānupravara. In the Ganjam plates of Neṭṭabhañja, one of the later Bhañja kings of Khiñjali-maṇḍala (no. 2), in the case of the second set of donees, the pravara is not specified; instead, five names are given as constituting the anupravara. As these names are in fact the pravara names of this gotra, it seems that the term anupravara has been used in this case in the place of, and in the same sense as, pravara. In the Ganjam plates of Vidyādharabhañja (no. 8), the later Bhañja king of Khiñjali-maṇḍala, the anupravara names are the pravara names given in the reverse order with the addition of 'vat' endings. In the Gaintala plates of Somavaṁśī Mahābhavagupta (no. 6), the anupravara names are the same as the pravara names, except that they are enumerated in the reverse order.

In some other inscriptions, the anupravara has a different status: only one of the three pravara names is given in the inscription as the pravara, the name of the eponymous ṛṣi being omitted from the pravara specification and the remaining pravara name being presented as the anupravara. This is the case in the following inscriptions: the Dharakota plate of the

[229]Brough, [59], pp. xvii; 21, n. 1.

Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākara (no. 10) (in the case of the second donee); the Ganjam plate of the Bhauma-Kara queen Daṇḍimahādevī (no. 17); the Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja, the early Bhañja king of Khiñjali-maṇḍala (no. 8); some of the grants of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala—the Ganjam plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 2) (in the case of one of the donees), the Komanda plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 4), the Pettasara plates of Neṭṭabhañja (no. 5), possibly the plates of Śilābhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa (no. 6), and the plates of Neṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa (no. 13); the Khargaprasada plate of the Tuṅga king Vinītatuṅga; and the Patna plates of the Somavaṁśī king Mahābhavagupta (no. 3) (in the case of the second donee).

Vedic school: The Vedic affiliation of Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of royal endowments is generally indicated in the inscriptions throughout the period under review. The terms śākhā and caraṇa both occur, and in some cases are apparently used interchangeably. On the basis of the epigraphic data, the following break-up of the number of beneficiaries (whose Vedic affiliations are indicated) affiliated to the various Vedic schools has been drawn:

Period I (fourth to seventh century): Bahvṛca—9+; *Sāmaveda*—4; Chandoga—13; *Yajurveda*—4; Taittirīya—10; Vājasaneya—35; Vājasaneya-Mādhyaṁdina—5; Vājasaneya-Kāṇva—1; Mādhyaṁdina—2; Kāṇva—1; Maitrāyaṇīya—22+; Devaṁrāta—1; Aupamanyava—1; Atri—8; Brāhmaṇas of various gotras and caraṇas—Brāhmaṇas of eight inscriptions. It may be noted that the beneficiaries of the Sirpur grant of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī queen Vāsaṭā were twelve in number, including four Brāhmaṇas of the three Vedas (excluding the *Atharvaveda*). Altogether, among the donees of Period I, the number of beneficiaries belonging to the various branches of the Vājasaneya school number 64+; the number of beneficiaries belonging to the schools of the *Yajurveda* are 80+, and outnumber by far Brāhmaṇas belonging to other Vedic schools. Brāhmaṇas of the *Ṛgveda* schools number 9+, those of the *Sāmaveda* schools 17+, and the *Atharvaveda* is not represented at all.

Period II (seventh to tenth century): Bahvṛca—55; Āśvalāyana—1; Chandoga—8; Chandoga-Rāṇāyaṇīya—1; Chandoga-Kauthuma—1; Chandoga-Mādhyaṁdina—1; Taittirīya—1; Vājasaneya—364; Vājasaneya-Kāṇva—14; Vājasaneya-Mādhyaṁdina—1; Kāṇva—3; Kaṭha—1; *Atharvaveda*—51; Brāhmaṇas of various gotras and caraṇas—the beneficiaries of three inscriptions, including one (the Neulpur plate of Bhauma-Kara Śubhākara) in favour of two hundred caturvidyā Brāhmaṇas (including those affiliated to the *Atharvaveda*). As in Period I, in Period II, Brāhmaṇas of the Vājasaneya school (altogether 382), and of the *Yajur-*

veda (altogether 384) outnumber those belonging to the schools of the other Vedas. Brāhmaṇas of the schools of the *Ṛgveda* total 57, those of the *Sāmaveda* 10, and the *Atharvaveda* 51 (one grant).

Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century): Bahvṛca—5-6; Bahvṛca-Āśvalāyana—1; *Ṛgveda*—2; Chandoga—301; Chandoga-Kauthuma—9; Kauthuma—1; *Sāmaveda*—1; *Yajurveda*—6-7; Taittirīya—1; Vājasaneya—6-7; Vājasaneya-Kāṇva—8; Vājasaneya-Mādhyaṁdina—5; Kāṇva—10; Mādhyaṁdina—6; Mādhyaṁdina-Kāṇva—2; Maitrāyaṇīya—1; Gautama—2. In Period III, a large single grant in favour of Brāhmaṇas of the Chandoga school makes the Sāma Vedins the best-represented with a total of 312 Brāhmaṇas. The number of Brāhmaṇas of the various Vājasaneyī schools remains substantial (37-38 beneficiaries), as does that of the *Yajurveda* in general (45-46 beneficiaries). Brāhmaṇas of the *Ṛgveda* numbers 8-9, and the *Atharvaveda* is not represented.

Native place and place of residence: The earliest reference to the place of residence of Brāhmaṇa recipients of royal endowments occurs in the Peddadugam plates of Śatrudamana and perhaps also in the Koroshanda plates of Viśākhavarman. Among the other inscriptions of Period I (fourth to seventh century), the place of residence is definitely specified in two of the Pitṛbhakta grants, several early Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga grants, those of Pṛthivī-mahārāja, the Vigrahas, and two Pāṇḍuvaṁśī grants (one of which also indicates the native place of the two beneficiaries). References to the place of residence of the Brāhmaṇas occur also in some of the inscriptions of Period II (seventh to tenth century)—in one Śvetaka Gaṅga inscription, as also in thirteen Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga and a few Bhauma-Kara grants. Some of the Bhauma-Kara grants also indicate the native place of the donees.

The specification of native place, often also of the place of residence, of the donees becomes a frequent feature in the inscriptions of Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century). These details occur in most of the grants of this period: those of the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala, Ādi-Bhañjas, Neṭṭabhañja of the Jurāḍā grant, Bhañjas of Baud, Bhañjas of Kolāḍa, Udayavarāha, the Śulkīs, Tuṅgas, Nandodbhavas, Vīra-Pracaṇḍadeva, and Somavaṁśīs. The evidence indicates the influx of Brāhmaṇas from other parts of India into Orissa during this period. Many of the places whence they came have not been identified. However, a large proportion of the Brāhmaṇa migrants seem to have come from various parts of Madhyadeśa (which comprised modern Uttar Pradesh and the eastern parts of Punjab, as also sometimes Bihar and North Bengal), and Bengal. Several came from renowned centres of brahmanical learning such as

Ṭakārī, Śrāvasti, Kolāñca, and Hastipada. The Vedic affiliations of these Brāhmaṇas suggest that the Brāhmaṇas of these centres (as also the migrant Brāhmaṇas in general) specialized particularly in the study of the *Yajurveda* and, to a lesser extent, the *Sāmaveda*. A few of the Brāhmaṇas came from other parts of the country: Ujjain and Gujarat in the Bonda plates of Pāṇḍuvaṁśī Tīvara, Dakṣiṇāpatha, i.e. South India in the Ganjam plates of the later Bhañja king Śatrubhañja, and Gaṅgāvāḍī, i.e. the Karnataka area in the Jurāḍā grant of Neṭṭabhañja. It may be noted that many of the Brāhmaṇa immigrants came from Brāhmaṇa villages (bhaṭṭa-grāmas or agrahāras) in their native localities and seem to have settled down in various parts of Orissa prior to being made the subject of royal endowments. The evidence of brahmanical migration and settlement yielded by the inscriptions of Orissa is an indicator of brahmanical spatial mobility, especially that of the Yajur Vedī Brāhmaṇas, in this part of the subcontinent during the early medieval period.

The imaging of the Brāhmaṇa recipients of royal land grants in the inscriptions of ancient and early medieval Orissa focuses on their learning, especially their Vedic learning. Occasionally, the expertise of a donee in a variety of different philosophical traditions is indicated. The donees are in several cases described as conforming to the Dharmaśāstra prescription of the six activities appropriate to Brāhmaṇas: study (adhyayana), teaching (adhyāpana), sacrificing (yajana), conducting sacrifices for others (yājana), offering gifts (dāna), and accepting gifts (pratigraha). While these six acts include the performance of sacrifices, references to the sacrificial expertise or activities of the Brāhmaṇas also occur in the description of the beneficiaries of the two grants of Pṛthivī-mahārāja, the Midnapore plate of Śubhakīrti, the Bonda plates of Pāṇḍuvaṁśī Tīvara, the Dhenkanal plate of the Śulkī king Raṇastambha, and the Baripada plates of Nandodbhava Devānanda. The epithets dīkṣita and agnihotrin, which appear frequently in the inscriptions, as also perhaps the less-common epithet upāsanin, may be taken as further indications of the sacrificial activities of some of the Brāhmaṇas.

Reference to the sectarian affiliations of Brāhmaṇa donees occurs in only three instances: the Adhabhara plates of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Mahā-Nannarāja, where the term bhāgavata is applied to the donee, the Sirpur inscription of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī queen Vāsaṭā, where two of the beneficiaries are descibed as bhāgavatas; and the Dhenkanal plate of the Śulkī king Kulastambha, where the donee is referred to as a parama-vaiṣṇava. In the last two cases, the references to sectarian affiliation are accompanied

by the specification of the Vedic school to which the Brāhmaṇas in question were affiliated.

A few of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of royal grants were specifically associated with temple establishments and/or maṭhas. Brāhmaṇas of the Maitrāyaṇīya school were associated with a maṭha of Maṇināgeśvara in the Kanas plates of Lokavigraha and Bhānudatta. The beneficiaries of the Indian Museum plates of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman (no. 11) were the deities Mādhava and Svayambhū as well as certain Brāhmaṇas probably associated with the temple of these deities. The Vishakhapatnam plates of the Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga king Devendravarman (no. 21) record a grant in favour of the deity Dharmeśvara bhaṭṭāraka at a time when the superintendence of the shrine lay with a Brāhmaṇa named Somācārya. The individual in charge of the shrine of Guṇḍeśvara, a grant in favour of which is recorded in the Gallavalli plates of the Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga king Manujendravarman (no. 37), may have been a Brāhmaṇa. The Terundia plate of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākara II (no. 8) records a grant made in favour of six Brāhmaṇas for the upkeep of the maṭhas and maṇḍapas established by these Brāhmaṇas in their native village. The two sets of Baud plates of the Bhauma-Kara queen Tribhuvanamahādevī (nos. 15 and 16) record a grant in favour of a Śaiva temple (of Umā-Maheśvara), and also assign a share for the provision of food and clothing for Brāhmaṇas, probably those associated with the temple. The Madras Museum plates of the imperial Gaṅga king Vajrahasta (no. 53) suggest that the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries mentioned therein were associated with a temple of the deity Koṭīśvaradeva. The Murupaka grant of imperial Gaṅga Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (no. 63) entrusted the protection of the temple of the deity Narendreśvaradeva to five Brāhmaṇas of the village.—Such references, few as they may be, to Brāhmaṇas associated with temple establishments and maṭhas provide a clue to the networks of diffusion of sectarianism.

The evidence throughout this period indicates that apart from specializing in Vedic learning, Brāhmaṇas pursued a wide variety of vocations. The Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of royal endowments were in some cases associated with the court in various capacities including those of priests, astrologers, and administrators. Some were attached to the court in various administrative capacities, occupying posts such as those of the deśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta (officer of the records and accounts department), pratihāra (chamberlain), pātra (minister), and karaṇika (scribe). Others were associated with the court in their capacity as purohita (chaplain), puṇyāha-vāḍaka (a priest officiating at religious ceremonies), and jyotiṣī (astrologer). Some, such as the mahattara (a village elder or headman ?)

and mahāmahattara (probably a head of the council of mahattaras) seem to have played an important role in village-level affairs. Still others, who bore titles such as ācārya, upādhyāya, ojhā, and paṇḍita, seem to have specialized in scholarly pursuits and teaching. There is one reference to a Brāhmaṇa bhogika (a term which could, among other things, mean the enjoyer of a revenue-free grant of land or the head of the territorial division known as a bhoga), two to what appear to be Brāhmaṇa rāṇakas (perhaps feudatory rulers), and one to an individual who may have been a Brāhmaṇa nāyaka (military chief).

The references to agrahārīya Brāhmaṇas being given grants of land and the evidence of certain Brāhmaṇas being the beneficiaries of more than one royal endowment of land indicates that apart from Brāhmaṇas emerging as a land-owning class during the period under review, some of the landed estates in Brāhmaṇa hands were considerably large.

Of particular interest are the grandiose grants of land made by some kings of Orissa to several hundreds of Brāhmaṇas. Grants of this sort are absent in Period I (fourth to seventh century). They occur in Period II (seventh to tenth century) in two instances, represented by the Chicacole plates of the Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga king Devendravarman (no. 31), which record an endowment made to three hundred Brāhmaṇas, and the Neulpur plates of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākara which claim to record a grant to two hundred Brāhmaṇas (though the number of beneficiaries actually named in the inscription are 202). In Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century), there are a number of very large grants made by the imperial Gaṅga kings, recorded in the Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta (five hundred Brāhmaṇas), Galavalli plates of Rājarāja I (three hundred Brāhmaṇas), the Korni plates of Śaka 1003 of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (three hundred Brāhmaṇas), and the Korni plates of Śaka year 1034 of the same king (three hundred Brāhmaṇas). The details of the brahmadeyas, including these large Brāhmaṇa settlements, form the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter IV

The Brahmadeya Settlements

Land endowed by kings to Brāhmaṇas in ancient and early medieval Orissa constituted a type of land holding/settlement described variously in the inscriptions as a brahmadeya, agrahāra, or śāsana.[1] This chapter presents the epigraphic data on the nature of these Brāhmaṇa settlements—the extent and location of the holdings, the nature of the land granted, the description of the boundaries (where this occurs), and the terms and conditions of the grant (which indicate the nature of the rights that the gift bestowed on the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries). The modern correlations of place names for which identifications have been offered by scholars have been indicated.[2]

The sections of the royal grants that specify the terms and conditions under which the grant was made are replete with a series of technical terms. Some of the fiscal terms that occur frequently in royal land grants are kara, pratyāya, uparikara, bhāga, bhoga, meya, and hiraṇya. While kara, in some contexts, has been seen as denoting a specific tax, and has been variously interpreted as a property tax, an emergency tax levied on traders, artisans and others, or an agrarian tax over and above the king's customary share[3]—

[1]While the term brahmadeya refers specifically to land gifted by kings to Brāhmaṇas, the terms agrahāra and śāsana have a wider application and may refer to land granted to Brāhmaṇas or to religious establishments. Three inscriptions of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara—the Narasingapalli plates of Hastivarman, the Santa-Bommali plates of Indravarman, and the Chicacole plates of Satyavarman (nos. 3, 6, and 32) refer to land granted to deities as constituting a 'dev-āgrahāra.' An unusual instance of the term 'agrahāra' referring to a secular tax-free land holding is to be found in the Chicacole plates of the Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga king Madhu-Kāvāṃava (no. 44), which refer to three villages having been constituted into a 'vaiśy-āgrahāra' (the beneficiary, Erapa nāyaka, belonged to a vaiśya family).

[2]In the listing of land endowments in this chapter, the number of the inscriptions as given in Appendix I appears in parenthesis. Subsequent numerical references in the course of the discussion of the terms of the grant, boundaries of the land, and so forth likewise refer to the numbering given in Appendix I. The orthography of the place-names follows the text of the inscriptions; variant readings have been indicated. Diacritic marks have been used only for ancient place-names, and not for modern ones. The spelling of frequently occurring technical terms has been standardized for the sake of uniformity.

[3]Ghoshal, [165], pp. 41, 85, n. 31; Jha, [217], pp. 46-48.

literary and epigraphic sources use it as a generic term as well, denoting taxes in general. Pratyāya was another generic term for taxes.[4] The uparikara has been variously interpreted as a tax levied on cultivators without any proprietory rights in the soil, a tax on temporary tenants, and an additional cess.[5] Bhāga referred to the king's customary share of the produce.[6] The term bhāga was often compounded with another term—bhoga—which appears to have stood for the periodical supplies of various items such as fruits, flowers, firewood, and so forth that the villagers were obliged to supply to the king.[7] Meya (literally, 'what is or can be measured') was another general term referring to dues that were paid in kind. It often occurs in the inscriptions in conjunction with the term hiraṇya, which refers to dues paid in cash.[8] Because of the controversy surrounding the interpretation of some of these and other technical terms, and in order to differentiate between terms which seem to have carried similar connotations, most technical terms have been left in the Sanskrit original in the discussion that follows. Where the meaning is clear, it is indicated in the body of the text. The possible connotations of more problematic terms have been discussed in footnotes to the text at the first instance of their occurrence.

PERIOD I: THE FOURTH TO THE SEVENTH CENTURY

South Orissa

The grant of Śatrudamana

The Pedda-Dugam plates of Śatrudamana record the grant of Duhāgrāma, Vasuvāṭaka, and Govāṭaka in Varddhamāna agrahāra in Giri-Kaliṅga. The three localities are described as 'grāmakas' in lines 6 and 10; the term probably signifies a small village. Duhāgrāma has been identified with Pedda-Dugam, the find-spot of the plates, in Narasannapeta taluk, Srikakulam district.[9] According to D.C. Sircar, the reference to the gift villages being situated in an agrahāra may suggest that the grant involved a reallotment of localities that were already revenue-free.[10] Giri-Kaliṅga

[4]Ghoshal, [165], p. 279.

[5]Fleet, [137], p. 98, n. 1; Ghoshal, [165], p. 276; Sircar, ed., [539], p. 266, n. According to Jha ([217], p. 55) none of the interpretations that have been put forward so far are conclusive.

[6]Ghoshal, [165], p. 45.

[7]Sircar, [539], p. 372, n. 7.

[8]Ghoshal, [165], p. 255.

[9]Sircar, [508], p. 91.

[10]Sircar, [508], p. 90. It may be pointed out that the reference in this inscription to several villages being situated in an agrahāra is unusual.

may indicate a hilly area of Kaliṅga. The boundaries of the gift villages are not specified. The three villages are said to have been constituted into a brahmadeya and granted to the donees as a dvija-bhoga (an object of enjoyment of the Brāhmaṇas). The inscription urges the inhabitants to obey the donees and to render to them the appropriate taxes (pratyāya), meya (dues paid in kind), etc..

The grant of Viśākhavarman

The land granted to five Brāhmaṇas by the Koroshanda plates of Viśākhavarman was Taṁpoyaka (Rajaguru reads Tapoyaka[11]) grāma in Korāsoḍaka-pa[n*]cāli. Krishnamacharlu identifies the gift village with Tampa in Parlakimedi taluk of Ganjam district.[12] Korāsoḍaka-pañcāli, according to Ramdas, must have comprised the area around Koroshanda, the find-spot of the plates.[13] The grant is said to have been constituted into an agrahāra to last as long as the moon, stars, and sun (ā-candra-tār-ārka-pratiṣṭham) and was declared exempt from all taxes (sarva-kara-bharaiś=ca parihṛtya).

The Pitṛbhakta grants

The endowments of land made to Brāhmaṇas by the Pitṛbhakta kings consisted of the following pieces of land:

1. (No.1) Hemaṇḍaka grāma in Bhiliṅga bhoga-viṣaya.

Bhiliṅga has been identified with Bhilinga village, about five miles from Baranga.[14]

2. (No. 2) Astihavera grāma.

Astihavera has been identified with Atava in Srungavarapukota taluk.[15]

3. (No. 3) Kuttura grāma in Mahendra bhoga.
4. (No. 4) Bṛhatproṣṭhā grāma.
5. (No. 5) Hoṇareṅga grāma.
6. (No. 6) T[i]rtthāṇa grāma.

[11]Rajaguru, [386], p. 283, l. 2. [12]Krishnamacharlu, [246], p. 202.

[13]Ramdas, [419], p. 24. The gift village of the Chicacole plates of Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga king Indravarman (no. 11) is said to be located in Korasoṭaka pañcāli, which seems to be the same as the locality referred to in the plates of Viśākhavarman. The suffix 'pañcāli' occurs in other inscriptions as well. Sarma ([450], pp. 220-28) has pointed out that there are four pañcālis mentioned in early Gaṅga grants—Korasoḍaka, Puṣyagiri, Devanna, and Cikhalī.

[14]Behara, [47], p. 108.

[15]Krishnamacharlu, quoted by Venkataramayya, [576], p. 301.

T[i]rtthāṇa has been identified with Tirida in Kudala taluk, Ganjam district.[16]

7. (No. 7) Kohetūra grāma.

8. (No. 8) Deyavāṭa/Aḍeyavāṭa.

9. (No. 9) Siṅghala grāma.

It may be noted that in all cases, the holding granted consisted of an entire village, and that the administrative unit within which the gift village was situated is specified in only two inscriptions.

The Pitṛbhakta inscriptions generally state that the land was constituted into an agrahāra that was to last as long as the sun, moon, and stars existed (ā-sahasrāṁśu-śaśi-tāraka-pratiṣṭham / ā-candra-tārak-ārka-pratiṣṭham)[17] indicating that the grant was made in perpetuity. The endowment is in all cases declared to be exempt from all taxes (sarva-kara-bharaiś=ca parihṛtya/ sarva-kara-parihāraiś=ca parihṛtya / sarva-kara-bhara-parihāraiḥ parihṛtya). The Tekkali plates of Umavarman supplement this with the statement in line 4 that the village was made tax-free (a-kara-grāhika-grāma). The residents of the gift villages were instructed to wait on the donees and to render, according to established custom, the meya (dues paid in kind) and hiraṇya (dues paid in cash).[18] Among the other terms that may be noted is the statement in the Dhavalapeta plates of Umavarman that the village was granted along with the vāṭaka (saha-vāṭakena). According to Ghoshal, 'vāṭaka' in this context must mean road, as the other possible meanings of the word—garden, orchard, etc.—do not seem to be applicable.[19] The Chicacole plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman contain the phrase 'a-karaṁ bhara-vāṇa-varjam' (line 5): the first part of this may be interpreted

[16]Krishnamacharlu, in a note in Ghoshal, [157], p. 35.

[17]The Bobbili plates of Caṇḍavarman have the following variation: ā-samudr-ādri-tārak-ārka-pratiṣṭham (to last as long as the sea, mountains, stars, and sun), while the Baranga plates of Nanadaprabhañjanavarman have the following: ā-samudr-ārka-tāraka-pratiṣṭham (to last as long as the sea, sun, and stars). Hereafter, such standard stipulations concerning the perpetuity of the grant have not been translated literally.

[18]Behara ([47], p. 108, ll. 9-10) gives the following variant reading of the usual passage in the Baranga plates of Umavarman: "meya-varim-ādi samutpa(tpā)dya māna-dravyam=upaneyam=iti."

[19]Ghoshal, [158], p. 135, n. 3. It is not clear why Ghoshal considers the other meanings of vāṭaka inappropriate here. According to Sankalia ([448], p. 57), vāṭa, vāṭaka, vāṭi, and vāṭikā appear as suffixes in the names of villages, and have always connoted in Sanskrit, Ardhamāgadhī, and Pāli literature a temporarily enlosed area, for instance a garden, plantation, or a low-caste village enclosed by trees. It may, further, be noted that the word vāṭaka occurs in some inscriptions as a corrupt form of pāṭaka (Sircar, [486], p. 367), and in some cases, it seems to mean a hamlet. The latter is another possible meaning of the word in the inscription in question.

as referring to the tax-free status of the gift land, but the meaning of 'bharavāṇa' is not clear.

Three of the Pitṛbhakta inscriptions appear to contain references to the villages granted as agrahāras forming a separate category of land holdings, probably from the fiscal point of view. Thus, lines 5-6 of the Bṛhatproṣṭhā plates of Umavarman state that the gift village was separated from the Dantayavāgu bhoga (division) and was made equal or similar to the Thirty-six agrahāras ("[Da]ntayavāgu-bhogād=uddhṛtya śaṭ-triṁśad- agrahāra-sāmānyaṁ=kṛtvā"). This is followed (in line 6) by the phrase "bhoga-samba[ndha-nirvva]canīyam=prattaḥ"—the meaning of which is not certain. Hultzsch suggests that it may mean that the gift village was to be mentioned henceforth in connection with the division of the Thirty-six agrahāras.[20] The Temburu plates of Umavarman (lines 6-7) state that the gift village was separated from the Dantayavāgu madamba[21] and made equal to the agrahāras of Kaliṅga ("Dantayavāgu-madambād=viniṣkṛṣya Kaliṅg-āgrahāra-sāmānyaṁ kṛtvā"). The reference to the granted land being made equal to the Thirty-six agrahāras occurs again in lines 5-6 of the Bobbili plates of Caṇḍavarman ("ṣaṭ-triṁśad-agrahāra-sāmānyañ=c=āgrahāraḥ pradeyam"). The term 'Thirty-six agrahāras' may have been used in these inscriptions in the sense of 'all the agrahāras' rather than indicating precisely thirty-six tax-free villages.[22] The reference to the villages granted being made equal or similar to the Thirty-six agrahāras probably indicates that the village in question was granted on the terms and conditions applicable to all the other agrahāras.

Inspite of the formulaic assertion in all the Pitṛbhakta inscriptions of the revenue-free status of the land granted, one of the inscriptions seems in fact to be a kara-śāsana, i.e. a charter recording a revenue-paying grant.[23] This is the grant recorded in the Bobbili plates of Caṇḍavarman. According to D.C. Sircar's reading and interpretation of the relevant passage, the inscription refers to the registration of the amount payable for the village

[20]Hultzsch ([194], p. 6) translates the entire passage as follows: " ... having separated (it) from the [Da]ntayavāgu division (bhoga) (and) having joined (it) to the Thirty-six Agrahāras in such a way that it must be mentioned (henceforth) in connection with (this) division (?)."

[21]The madamba was a kind of administrative unit.

[22]Sircar, [498], p. 115. Sircar points to the similar usage of the number 36 in the Bengali expression 'chatriś-jāt' ('the 36 castes,' i.e. all or most of the castes) and the Hindi 'chattīsgarh' ('the 36 forts,' a name given to an area originally containing many forts).

[23]See Sircar, [516], pp. 4-10. Apart from referring to the charter recording a revenue-paying grant of land, the term 'kara-śāsana' is also used to refer to the land granted by means of such a charter (p. 6).

being fixed at two hundred paṇas[24] to be paid annually in advance as in the case of the Thirty-six, i.e. of all other agrahāras.[25] This seems to point to the custom of realizing revenue from agrahāras being rather widespread.

The Māṭhara grants

The following land endowments were made by the Māṭhara kings to Brāhmaṇas:

1. (No. 1) Rāk[a]l[u]va grāma (referred to as a grāmaka in line 5) in Kaliṅga viṣaya.

Rākaluva has been identified with Ragolu, the find spot of the plates, near Srikakulam.[26]

(No. 2) A locality called Ningoṇḍi,[27] which was adjacent to or formed part of Astihoṇa-Rāmagrāma.

3. (No. 3) [A]ndoreppa grāma, described in the inscription as having been previously gifted by Āryyaka-Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka.

Andoreppa has been tentatively identified with the find-spot Andhavaram on the left bank of the Vamsadhara river, in Narasannapeta taluk in Srikakulam district.[28]

4. (No. 4) Sakuṇaka grāma in Āvi-pāriśva of Ba(Va)rāhavarttanī .

Varāhavarttanī probably corresponded to parts of Tekkali and Srikakulam taluks.[29]

[24]On the paṇa, see *infra*, n. 31.

[25]"...ṣaṭṭṛiṅśa(ṭtriṁśa)d-agrahāra-sāmānyañ = c = āgrahāra-pradeya[ṁ*] sāmba-(sāṁva)tsarikaṁ sa(pa)ṇ-āgraṁ śata-bhu(dva)yan=c=ā[ṁ*]śaṁ c=opanibandhyaḥ(dhya)..." (Sircar, [498], p. 115). Ghoshal ([157], p. 35, ll. 5-7) reads as follows: "ṣaṭ-tṛiṅsa(triṁśa)d-agrahāra-sāmānyañ=c=āgrahāra[ḥ*] pradeya[ṁ*] sāmba(va)tsarikaṁ saṇāgraṁ śatabhu(bhū)yañ=c= āsāṁ=c=opanibandhyaḥ," and remarks that the entire passage in which the grant is announced is "somewhat loose and incoherent in construction ..." ([157], p. 36, n. 7).

[26]Hultzsch, [199], p. 2.

[27]It is not clear whether Ningṇḍi was a whole village or part of one.

[28]Subrahmanyam, [561], p. 176.

[29]Śakuna occurs as the name of one of the villages adjacent to the gift village in the Andhavaram plates of the Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga king Anantavarman (no. 19); the villages in question are said to be located in Varāhavartanī. The Śakuna of the Gaṅga grant seems to be the same as Sakuṇaka village mentioned above. The Varāhavarttani division occurs in several other inscriptions (e.g. Gaṅga inscriptions). Hultzsch (in an editorial note in Ramamurti, [418], p. 185, n. 5) quotes Sastri's suggestion that Varāhavarttani may be identified with another territorial division named Koluvartanī (also mentioned in Gaṅga inscriptions), on the grounds that the words 'kolu' and 'varāha' both mean boar. According to Venkataramayya ([575], p. 234), the names of these divisions were perhaps derived from the prevalence of a profusion of boars in the area.

In all the inscriptions, except perhaps in the Ningondi plates of Prabhañjanavarman (no. 2), the land gifted to Brāhmaṇa donees consisted of whole villages. The boundaries of the land are specified in only one inscription—the Ningondi plates of Prabhañjanavarman (no. 2). These included the following land-marks: Rukmapati in the north, Vyāghraprastara together with a mole-hill by a śālmalī tree in the west, and the sea (apparently the Bay of Bengal) in the south.[30]

The Māṭhara land grants give the usual stipulation of the perpetuity of the agrahāra (ā-candra-tārakāt / ā-candra-tāraka-pratiṣṭham / ā-sahasrāṁśu-śaśi-tārakāt). Two of the inscriptions (the Ragolu plates of Śaktivarman and the Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman) specifically state that the agrahāra was to be exempt from all taxes (sarva-kara-pradeyaiś=ca parihṛta / sarva-parihāraiś=ca parihṛtya). The Ningondi plates of Prabhañjanavarman, are according to D.C. Sircar's reading of the text, a kara-śāsana, the rent for the land being fixed at two hundred paṇas to be paid in advance.[31] The Ragolu plates of Śaktivarman specify that the gift village was not to be entered by the bhaṭas (a-bhaṭa-praveśya).[32] The inscriptions

[30]It is odd that the eastern boundary is not indicated. Sircar ([498] p. 114) suggests that perhaps the word 'pūrveṇa' was inadvertently left out by the scribe before the reference to the śālmalī tree and the mole-hill.

[31]Sircar's reading of the relevant portion ([498], p. 118, l. 15) is as follows: "sā[ṁ*]vatsarika-kara-paṇ-āgra-śatau dv[au] (read śate dvaye)." Sircar ([498], p. 114) suggests that the unit of two hundred probably refers to two hundred paṇas of cowries; he points out that eighty cowries are known to have made one paṇa and that two hundred paṇas were, thus, equal to sixteen thousand cowries. Rajaguru ([404], 1, pt. 2: 45) disagrees with Sircar's reading; his version of the passage in question is as follows: "sa[ṁ]vatsarika kara-phaṇāgra śatau-dvau." According to him, the passage refers to the date of the charter, not to the rent.

[32]In this particular case, the reference is only to the bhaṭas, but numerous inscriptions of the ancient and early medieval period stipulate that the gifted village was not to be entered by the cāṭas and bhaṭas (a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśya). Fleet ([137], p. 98, n. 2) translates these words as irregular and regular troops. He follows G. Bühler in his interpretation of 'cāṭa.' Bühler ([60a], p. 115, n.) suggests that the cāṭas formed part of the irregular soldiery that formed part of a king's army. He points out that in the treatises on law, the term cāṭa is usually explained by 'stena' (a thief), and is sometimes combined with 'krūra' (a cruel person). The word bhaṭa seems to mean soldiers. It is used in the *Amarakośa* (2. 8. 62) as a synonym of 'sainya.' Bhagvanlal Indraji and Bühler ([205], p. 175, n. 41) interpret 'cāṭa-bhaṭa' as 'cāṭān prati bhaṭāḥ,' i.e. soldiers against robbers, signifying the royal police. Vogel ([577], pp. 131-32) suggests that in more recent times, 'cār' (cf. cāṭa) signified the head of a pargana, and that the bhaṭa was an official subordinate to the cāṭa. According to Sircar ([509], pp. 64-65), the cāṭas and bhaṭas may have been constables and peons. Jha ([217], p. 33) suggests that the literary and epigraphic evidence indicates that the cāṭas and bhaṭas acted partly as a police and partly as a military, and may have been responsible for arresting robbers and persons guilty of treason. The stipulation against their entry in land grant charters, according to Jha, suggests either that villagers were liable to make some contribution in cash or in kind to these cāṭas

urge the inhabitants of the villages to serve the donees according to established custom, and two inscriptions (nos. 11 and 12) state that they should render to the donees dues such as the meya and hiraṇya.

The Vāsiṣṭha grants

The endowments made to Brāhmaṇas by the Vāsiṣṭha kings consisted of the following villages:

1. (No. 1) Toṇṭā[pa]ra grāma.

Toṇṭāpara has been tentatively identified with Totada village in Srikakulam district.[33]

2. (No. 2) Kiṇḍeppa grāma (Narasimham reads Kiṇḍoppa[34]) in Tellavalli viṣaya.

Kiṇḍeppa has been tentatively identified with Kondapalem near Tellagamudy.[35] Tellavalli has been identified by R.C. Majumdar with Tellagamudy village,[36] and by Narasimham with Jeypore.[37]

The villages are said to have been constituted into an agrahāra in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kāla-pratiṣṭhṭam / ā-candr-ārka-tāraka-pratiṣṭham). The land is declared to be exempt from all taxes (sarva-kara-parihāraiḥ parihṛtya / sarva-kara-bharaiḥ parihṛtya). According to the Siripuram plates of Anantavarman, the gift village was separated from the Kharapuriṣa madamba as well as the Pattana bhoga.[38] The village is described in lines 9-10 as already an agrahāra, similar to (or, in this case, joined to) the Kharapuri madamba, and paying taxes ("eṣa pūrvam=ev=āgrahāraḥ Kharapuri-madamba-sāmānyaḥ kara-pradaḥ"). This seems to indicate that the village granted was already an agrahāra, albeit a tax-paying one, and that the royal charter made it tax-exempt.

The Srungavarapukota plates of Anantavarman state that the endowment was to be enjoyed by the sons and grand-sons of the donee (putra-pautrikam=upabhujyamānaḥ), i.e. was hereditary, and that the gift village

and bhaṭas when they happened to stop in or pass through a village; or that they were connected with the collection of revenue. In the course of the discharge of their duties, it is possible that they were in the habit of oppressing the people with unjust exactions for their personal benefit. This, concludes Jha, would explain the dislike for the cāṭas and bhaṭas in various literary works as also the stipulation in the land grants that these people were not to enter the gifted village.

[33]Srinivasa Rao, [550], p. 50.

[34]Narasimham, [333], p. 160, 2nd plate, 1st side, l. 2.

[35]Majumdar, [283], p. 59.

[36]Majumdar, [283], p. 59.

[37]Narasimham, [333], p. 157.

[38]The term 'bhoga' can have a variety of meanings, depending on the context (See Sircar, [486], pp. 54-55). Here, it refers to an administrative division.

was not to be disturbed by the vallabhas and durllabhas.[39] The inhabitants of the villages were instructed to obey and serve the donees respectfully. The Siripuram plates of Anantavarman state that they should serve the donees respectfully and render unto them the fruits of the land (grāma-phalam=upanīya).

The grants of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (inscription nos. 1-13)

Ten of the Gaṅga inscriptions of this group record grants to Brāhmaṇas. The endowments they record consisted of the following holdings:

1. (No. 1) Jijjika grāma in Voṅkhara bhoga.

Jijjika has been identified with Jirjingi, the find-spot of the plates.[40]

2. (No. 2) Pratiṣṭhāpura grāma in Dāgha-pañcālī viṣaya.

3. (No. 4) Two and a half halas[41] of land purchased from the agrahārika or agrahārikas[42] by the king, in Hoṇḍevaka grāma in Kroṣṭhukavarttanī.

[39]According to Majumdar ([283], p. 61, n. 5), 'vallabha' means overseer, superintendent, or herdsman, or may stand for royal officers in general, while 'durllabha' could be an adjective (meaning excellent) qualifying vallabha or could also be an official designation.

[40]Subba Rao, [559], p. 49.

[41]The word 'hala' literally means 'plough,' but also referred to a kind of land measure. According to Niyogi ([341], pp. 104-6), it referred to the area of land that could be tilled with a single plough in one day, an area that depended on variables such as the nature of the soil and the size of the plough. Niyogi states that while the term hala appears frequently in the inscriptions of the tenth to twelfth century AD, it is difficult to ascertain when it first came to denote a land measure. It may be pointed out that the reference to hala in the above-mentioned inscription—the Urlam plates of the Gaṅga king Hastivarman—is dated in the (Gaṅga) year 80. If the commencement of the Gaṅga era is placed towards the end of the fifth century AD, this would place the Urlam plates around the last quarter of the sixth century AD, and this reference to hala as a land measure would be much earlier than the ones cited by Niyogi.

[42]Hultzsch ([202], p. 333, n. 9), translates 'agrahārikas' as 'the residents of the agrahāra.' According to Fleet ([137], p. 52, n. 2), however, 'agrahārika' is a technical title probably denoting an officer in special charge of an agrahāra. Jha ([217], p. 169) agrees with Fleet's interpretation of this term, and points out that the agrahārika is mentioned in inscriptions from the Gupta period onwards. According to Jha, the agrahārika's administrative jurisdiction over the agrahāras can be inferred from lines 12-14 of the spurious Gaya plate of Samudragupta. The relevant passage has been translated as follows by Fleet ([137], p. 257): " ... And from this time forth, the tax-paying cultivators, artisans, &c. of other villages, &c., should not be introduced by the *Āgrahārika* of this (*village*) (*for the purpose of settling in it and carrying on their occupations*): (*for*) otherwise there would certainly be a violation of (*the privileges of*) an *agrahāra*." According to Jha ([217], p. 170), this stipulation was aimed at preventing a loss of income to the state, and the agrahārika seems to have been an officer in charge of tax-free gift villages, especially the fiscal and administrative aspects of these. It may be pointed out that the passage from the spurious Gaya inscription of Samudragupta does not, in fact, conclusively support the interpretation of the term agrahārika or āgrahārika as an officer in charge of agrahāras, Hultzsch's interpretation of the term being just as, if not more, plausible. Jha himself states in a foot-note ([217], p. 170, n. 72) that the term āgrahārika may also mean one who is the holder of an agrahāra.

4. (No. 5) A hala of land in the rāja-taṭāka-kṣetra (i.e. in the vicinity of the royal tank)[43] constituted into a separate section in Siddārtthaka grāma in Varāhavarttanī.

5. (No. 8) Kettaṭa grāma in Devanna-pañcālī.

6. (No. 9) Toṭavāṭaka grāma in Kroṣṭukavarttanī.

Toṭavāṭaka has been identified with Totada or Todavada, about eight miles from Andhavaram, the find-spot of the plates.[44] Kroṣṭhukavarttanī has been identified with the area around Narasannapeta taluk in Srikakulam district.[45]

7. (No. 10) Tāmaraceruva grāma along with the vāṭaka,[46] in Barāhavarttaṇi (Varāhavarttanī) viṣaya.

8. (No. 11) Tālamūla grāma in Korosoṭaka-pañcālī.[47]

9. (No. 12) Bhukkukura-ccheda in Kūraka-rāṣṭra.

Bhukkukura has been identified with Bukkur in Palakonda taluk, opposite Purle on the Nagavali river.[48] Kūraka has been tentatively identified with Kurchavalasa, about four miles north-west of Siddhantam, and Kūraka rāṣṭra with Palakonda taluk.[49]

10. (No. 13) A hala of land, measured by the rod used for brahmadeyas (brahmadeya-daṇḍa-mānamitā), in Tuṅgannā grāma in Rūpyavatī viṣaya.[50]

It may be noted that the gift land of inscription nos. 4 and 9 lay in Kroṣṭukavarttanī viṣaya, and that of inscription nos. 5 and 10 lay in Varāhavarttanī.

The boundaries of four of the land endowments of this group of Gaṅga kings are specified. The land-marks referred to are as follows:

No. 4: Ant-hills; the embankments of various fields (kṣetra-pālī); the western bank of the Ghoṣaṇa well (vāpī); the boundary of Hattaravanna; an artificial row of stones.

No. 5: The embankment of the royal tank (rāja-taṭāka); ant-hills; boulders; dhimāra/adhimāra trees; a kāraka tree.

No. 12: Ant-hills; arjuna trees; a karañja tree; rocks; a timira tree.

No. 13: The Vidyugaṅgā (apparently a stream or river); a row of boulders; the boundaries of Śarkkaravāṭaka. Lines 21-22 of the inscription state that the water of the tank (taḍāga) of Tuṅgana (the village

[43]This possibly indicates that the gift land was located on crown land.

[44]Subrahmanyam, [562], p. 41. [45]Subrahmanyam, [562], pp. 40-41.

[46]See *supra*, n. 19 on vāṭaka.

[47]Cf. Korāsoḍaka pa[ñ*]cāli of the Koroshanda plates of Viśākhavarman.

[48]Ramadas, [415], p. 61. [49]Ramadas, [415], p. 61.

[50]Rūpyavatī viṣaya may be connected with Rūpavarttani viṣaya (*MER*, 1919, p. 14).

wherein the gift land was situated), flowing out of the Kārākhaṇḍī and Brāhmaṇapālanī (apparently water-channels), entered the field until the crop ripened.

The land gifted by the early Gaṅga kings to Brāhmaṇas is said to have been constituted into an agrahāra gifted in perpetuity (ā-samudr-ādri-śaśi-tārak-ārka-pratiṣṭham / ā-candr-ārka-tāraka-pratiṣṭham / ā-candr-ārka-pratiṣṭham). It was declared exempt from all taxes (sarva-kara-parihāraiḥ parihṛtya / sarva-karaiḥ parihṛtya / sarva-kara-parihāreṇa). The residents were ordered variously to obey the donees, to live happily, rendering to them taxes such as the bhāga and bhoga, and not to obstruct the donees in any way. Lines 17-18 of the Achuyutapuram plates of Indravarman (no. 5) state that no one should cause any hindrance to the donee if he chose to open the sluice of the tank ("taṭāk-odaka-bandhana-mokṣe na kenacid=vighātaḥ kāryy=eti"); the reference seems to be to the rāja-taṭāka or royal tank mentioned in the boundaries.

The grants of Pṛthivī-mahārāja

The endowments made to Brāhmaṇas by Pṛthivī-mahārāja consisted of the following villages:

1. (No. 1) Tāṇḍivāḍa grāma in Pāguṇāra viṣaya.

Tāṇḍivāḍa has been tentatively identified by Panchamukhi with Tadiparru in Tanuku taluk of the Kistna district,[51] and by Venkataramanayya (also tentatively) with either Tadiparru or Tamarada in Tanuku taluk.[52] Pāguṇāra viṣaya has been identified by Panchamukhi with the modern Tanuku taluk of Kistna district[53] and by Venkataramanayya with Narasapur taluk in East Godavari district.[54]

2. (No. 2) Gollāvalli grāma in Rudravati viṣaya.

The villages are declared to have been constituted into tax-free agrahāras (sarva-kara-parihāreṇ=āgrahārīkṛtya), and the charters stipulate that no one was to cause any obstruction (to the donees).

The grant of Charamparāja

The Khandipada Nuapalli plates of Charamparāja record the endow-

[51]Panchamukhi, [342], p. 97. [52]Venkataramanayya, [574], p. 193.

[53]Panchamukhi, [342], p. 97. According to Panchamukhi, Pāguṇāra viṣaya can be identified with territorial units mentioned in certain eastern Cālukya inscriptions—the Pāgunavāra viṣaya of the Vandaram plates of Ammarāja II, the Pāgunavara viṣaya of a grant of Bhīma II, and the Pāguṇavara viṣaya of an inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana V.

[54]Venkataramanayya, [574], pp. 192-93.

ment of Ekaṭika grāma in Khiṇḍiṅgāhāra viṣaya. The village granted is said to have been made tax-free (a-karīkṛtya).

North and Central Orissa

The grants of the Vigrahas and their feudatory

The endowments made by Dharmarāja and Lokavigraha (the latter to the maṭha of Maṇināgeśvara and certain Brāhmaṇas of the Maitrāyaṇīya branch of the *Yajur Veda*) consisted of the follows holdings:

1. (No.1) Ā[rddhā]kamaṇḍuka grāma along with Candanavāṭaka in Parakkhalamārgga viṣaya.

Candanavāṭaka has been tentatively identified by Rajaguru with Chandanapalli, less than a mile east of Sumandala, the find-spot of the plates.[55] According to D.C. Sircar, Parakkhalamārgga must have been situated in the Khallikot region,[56] while Rajaguru identifies its headquarters with Pankala mutha in the Khallikot taluk.[57]

2. (No. 2) Ū[rddvaśṛ]ṅga grāma in Uṭida viṣaya.

Lokavigraha's grant is said to have been made after ascertaining that the village did not contain any land uncultivated for a long time and that the land possessed many good qualities (cira-khila-śūnyam=aneka-guṇam=ity=avadhṛtya). Both the grants were made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-sama-kāla-sthitya / ā-candr-ārka-samakālīya). The Kanas plate of Lokavigraha states that the grant was made in perpetuity in accordance with the akṣaya-nīvi-dharma (the law of non-transferability governing permanent endowments),[58] after having established the four boundaries of the village. The Sumandala plates of Dharmarāja declare the gift land to be free from all taxes and oppressions (sarva-kara-pīḍā-varjita);[59] the village was granted together with the space above the ground (s-oddeśa) and together with the dues known as the uparikara (s-oparikara).

[55]Rajaguru, [396], p. 66. [56]Sircar, [521], p. 84. [57]Rajaguru, [396], p. 66.

[58]Fleet ([137], Appendix IV, p. 182, n. 2) translates 'akṣaya-nīvī' as 'a permanent endowment.' Ghoshal ([165], pp. 265, 293) translates 'nīvidharma-akṣayena' as 'according to the custom of non-destruction of 'nīvi-dharma,' and 'nīvi-dharma' as the custom of (non-destruction of) the principal. The technical term 'nīvi-dharma-akṣayena' (or akṣya-nīvī-dharma) would thus refer to the non-transferability of the land. This is also how the term is interpreted by Jha ([217], p. 135), who states that 'nīvidharma' refers to a grant in perpetuity without the right of alienation.

[59]The nature of these oppressions is discussed in the Summary at the end of this chapter.

The grants of the Mudgalas/Mānas and their feudatory

The endowments made to Brāhmaṇas by the Mudgala/Māna kings and their feudatory Śivarāja consisted of the following:

1. (No. 1) Kannirdhaka/Kanirvaka in Annarakuddakoṇa/Astarakuddakoṇa viṣaya.

Kannirdhaka/Kanirvaka has been identified with Kundara village, about two miles south of Erbang, and Annarakuddakoṇa/Astarakuddakoṇa with either Astaranga or Konarak.[60]

2. (No. 2) Eight timpiras[61] of land in Ghaṇṭākarṇṇakṣetra adjoining Sarepha village situated in Sareph-āhāra viṣaya, along with homestead land (vāstu) measuring 200 hastas.[62] Sarepha, the headquarters of Sareph-āhāra viṣaya, has been identified with Soro in Baleshwar district, close to which place the inscription was found.[63]

3. (No. 3) Taṇḍralvalu/Tuṇḍilvaluja grāma in Vorttanoka viṣaya.

The land granted by these kings was gifted in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kāla/ā-candr-ārka-samakālaṁ). The Erbang plate of Śambhuyaśas (no. 1) states that the land was granted along with the dues known as the parikara (sa-parikara)[64] and along with the space above the ground (s-oddeśa), and was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-rahita). These stipulations are also to be found in the Soro plate of Śambhuyaśas (no. 2), with the additional statements that the land was endowed with grain (sasya-sahitā) and that it was granted along with homestead land measuring two hundred hastas (vāstu-hasta-śata-dvaya-sametā). The Patiakella grant of Śivarāja (no. 3) simply states that the endowment was made according to the akṣaya-nīvi-dharma (the law of non-transferability governing permanent endowments).

The Midnapore grant of Śubhakīrti

The endowment made by Śubhakīrti to a Brāhmaṇa donee consisted of forty droṇas[65] of land (of an unspecified nature) and one droṇavāpa of

[60]Rajaguru, [379], p. 114.

[61]Timpira is a land measure that occurs frequently in the inscriptions of Orissa.

[62]The hasta was a well-known unit of land measurement in ancient and early medieval India. See Niyogi, [340], pp. 85-87.

[63]Majumdar, [276], p. 201.

[64]'Sa-parikara' appears to mean the same thing as 's-oparikara.'

[65]According to Majumdar ([285], p. 6), the equation of one droṇavāpa to one-eighth of a kulyavāpa in Sanskrit lexicons is supported by epigraphic evidence. Majumdar also points out that the droṇa—an abbreviation of droṇavāpa—is a land measure which continued to be used into modern times in Bengal.

homestead land (vāstu) in Kumbhārapadraka grāma in Keta(?)kapadrika uddeśa (read deśa). No privileges or exemptions are specified.

The grants of the Dattas

The endowments made by the Dattas to Brāhmaṇa recipients (this includes the Kanas grant of Bhānudatta, the beneficiaries of which were the deity Maṇināga as well as various Brāhmaṇas of the Maitrāyaṇīya branch of the *Yajur Veda*) consisted of the following holdings:

1. (No.1) Muhā(?)-Kumbhārapadraka (village), said to have been detached from the maṇḍala (sarva-maṇḍala-varjita).[66]

2. (No. 2) Aḍayāra grāma in Sareph-āhāra viṣaya in Uttara Tosalī, which formed part of Oḍra viṣaya.

3. (No. 3) Va(Ba)hiravvāṭaka grāma in Varukāṇa (or Vārukoṇa/ Varukoṇa) viṣaya in Sareph-āhāra.

Varukāṇa has been tentatively identified with Barua pargana.[67]

4. (No. 4) Va(Ba)[hirvā]ṭaka grāma in Sareph-āhāra viṣaya.

5. (No. 5) Kum[vu]kīrikṣilāka (Rajaguru reads Kuṁbarka Śunkhalāka[68]) grāma in U[tta]ma[l]oka (Rajaguru reads Uḍḍāmaloka) viṣaya.

Rajaguru identifies Kuṁbarka Śunkhalāka with Sukala, near the Maṇināga hill of Ranapur;[69] Misra disputes this identification, suggesting that the more appropriate identification is with Raja Sunakhala village, situated six miles from Ranpur.[70]

6. (No. 6) Anya Bandīraka (the lesser Bandīraka)/Nandīraṭa grāma in Sareph-āhāra viṣaya.[71]

It may be noted that the gift land in inscription nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5 was situated in Sareph-āhāra viṣaya. This is an instance of the clustering of brahmadeya settlements in a particular area.

The villages in inscription nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6 are described as not containing any land uncultivated for a long time (cira-khila-śūnya). It may be noted that the Soro plate of Somadatta (no. 3) and the Soro plate of Bhānudatta (no. 4) record the endowment of the same village. It seems that the village was initially granted by Somadatta to two Brāhmaṇas, and that Bhānudatta's grant recorded the addition of the claims of two more

[66]The maṇḍala is a type of administrative or territorial division. See the section on the Pitṛbhakta grants for other references to the detachment of endowed land, probably for fiscal purposes.

[67]Majumdar, [276], p. 201. [68]Rajaguru, [391], p. 32, ll. 7-8.

[69]Rajaguru, [391], p. 31. [70]Mishra, [308], p. 32.

[71]Mitra ([324], p. 62, l. 2) reads the name of the viṣaya as Sagaḍhāhāra. This seems to be an incorrect reading as Sareph-āhāra is a viṣaya known from several inscriptions.

donees[72] to this village. It seems that the gift villages of the two Soro plates of Somadatta (nos. 2 and 3), the Soro plate of Bhānudatta (no. 4), and the Balasore plate of Bhānudatta (no. 6) were in the same vicinity. This may be inferred from the earlier-mentioned fact that they are all described as being located in Sareph-āhāra viṣaya, as well as by the fact that there is an overlap in the names of the donees of these four grants. This suggests the expansion of the land estates of certain Brāhmaṇas in the area known as Sareph-āhāra viṣaya.

Three of the grants of the Datta kings (nos. 7, 8, 9) do not specify any terms of the gift. The Soro plate of Bhānudatta (no. 4) declares the endowment to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-varjita). The Kanas plate of Bhānudatta (no. 5) contains the conventional statement about the perpetuity of the grant (ā-candr-ārka-sama-kālam).

West Orissa

The Nala grants

Two of the Nala inscriptions—the Kesaribeda plates of Arthapati (no. 1) and the Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman (no. 2)—record grants to Brāhmaṇas. The endowments consisted of the following villages:

1. (No. 1) Keselaka grāma.

Keselaka has been identified with the find-spot, Kesaribeda.[73]

2. (No. 2) Kadambagiri grāma.

Kadambagiri has been identified with Kalamba village in Nagpur district (in Madhya Pradesh).[74]

The Rithapur plates specify the boundaries of Kadambagiri village. These included a mountain/hill, the limit of the viṣaya, Māluka viraka (apparently a village) with the cultivated land (karmmantaka), Madhukala-tikā, Bakasāmalaka with the piṇḍira (pomegranate) tree, Trimandira viraka and the boundary of the kingdom (rājya-sīmā).[75]

The Kesaribeda plates describe the endowment as made in perpetuity (ā-candra-tārakam), hereditary (putra-pautrikam), and free from all taxes (sarva-kara-visarjita). It is, further, stipulated that the land was not to be entered by the bhaṭas (a-bhaṭa-praveśa), while the term 'a-vaha' that occurs in this inscription has interpreted as referring to the exemption from

[72]I.e. in addition to the two who were already enjoying the endowment.

[73]Sircar, [490], p. 16.

[74]Gupte, [175], p. 102.

[75]According to Gupte ([175], p. 104, n. 4) 'rājya' should here be understood in the sense of a division of the kingdom.

the obligation of providing conveyance to royal officials on tour.[76] The villagers were instructed to happily continue working on their land, to serve the donees according to the custom prevalent in the viṣaya and to render unto them dues (pratyāya) such as the hiraṇya, etc. The Rithapur plates declare the endowment to be made in perpetuity (ā-candra-tāraka) and exempt from all taxes (sarva-kara-visarjita). The village in question was not to be entered by the bhaṭas (a-bhaṭa-praveśa), was exempt from providing conveyance to royal officials on tour (a-vaha), free from tolls (a-śulka),[77] and free from all disputes (sarva-bādhā-parihīna). The village is said to have been granted along with ten nivartanas of land (sa-daśa-nivarttanika),[78] along with the right of ploughing (?) (sa-hala),[79] and along with the vāṭaka (sa-vāṭaka).[80] The inscription contains a stipulation in lines 13-14, the exact purport of which is not clear, that nothing is to be said with reference to certain ciñcāla (tamarind) or palāśa trees or the boundaries (of the village) (ciñcāla-palāśa-padraka-maryyādayā na kiñcid vaktavyaḥ).

The Terasingha grant of Tuṣṭikāra

The Terasingha plates record the grant of Prastara-vāṭaka to a Brāhmaṇa. The term 'vāṭaka' here may mean a hamlet. A statement at the end of the inscription, which may be a later interpolation, includes in the endowment a piece of land that was fallow and mainly rocky (śūnya-kṣetram prastara-kṣetra-pramukham). The queen's endorsement, added to the grant (in lines 2-3 of the first side of the first plate of the grant), describes the land as "Dāya-Jvar-Ola[k-ā]di-bhogaka-kṣetra[ṁ]." According to D.C. Sircar, this may indicate that the land was being enjoyed by certain persons named Dāya, Jvara, and Ulaka.[81] The land was constituted into an agrahāra to last for ever (ā-candra-tārak-ārka-pratiṣṭham), and the residents of the gift land were instructed to serve the donee according to established custom.

[76]Sircar, [490], p. 15.

[77]According to Ghoshal ([165], p. 282), the term 'śulka' denoted tolls and customs duties. According to Jha ([217], p. 76), while the precise connotation of śulka cannot be ascertained, it is fairly certain that it referred to a tax on commodities levied on traders and merchants, perhaps including taxes on both foreign and indigenous merchandise.

[78]The nivartana is a land measure mentioned in a variety of literary and epigraphic sources. Its exact dimensions are not certain; literary references suggest equivalences ranging from about half an acre to about 4 $^{3}/_{4}$ acres (see Sircar, [487], pp. 409-10).

[79]Hala could also refer to the land measure by this name, and the reference could thus be to land measuring one hala in area. On hala as a land measure, see *supra*, n. 41.

[80]For the various possible meanings of the word vāṭaka, see *supra*, n. 19.

[81]Sircar, [522], p. 277, n. 3.

The Śarabhapurīya grants

All ten grants made by the Śarabhapurīya kings were in favour of Brāhmaṇas. The endowments made to these Brāhmaṇas consisted of the following holdings:

1. (No. 1) Śarkarā padraka (also referred to as a grāma) in Nandapura bhoga.

Śarkarā has been tentatively identified with Sakara village, close to Nandgaon on the Mahanadi in the old Sarangarh State.[82] There are two villages called Nandaur, big and small, in Bilaspur district, approximately forty miles from Sakara, not far from Sakti on the B.N. Railway. The site of these villages has yielded some old relics and may represent the headquarters of the old Nandapura bhoga.[83]

2. (No. 2) Keśavaka grāma in Cullāḍasīma bhoga or in the bhoga bordering Cullāḍa. Keśavaka has been tentatively identified with Keshwa village on the banks of a nullah of the same name, about five and a half miles south-east of Mahasamund in Mahasamund taluk.[84] Cullāḍa may be represented by Charoda village, seven miles due east of Keshwa.[85]

3. (No. 3) Pamvā grāma in Pūrvva rāṣṭra.

Pamvā has been identified with modern Pamgarh, about twenty-one miles north of Tundra in the Janjgir tahsil of Bilaspur district.[86] It has been suggested that Pūrvva rāṣṭra was perhaps so-called because it lay to the east of the Mekala mountains.[87]

4. (No. 4) Two neighbouring villages—Navannaka and Śāmbilaka grāma in Kṣitimaṇḍa āhāra.

Navannaka has been tentatively identified with the find-spot of the plates, Nahna, Naina of the maps, located about three miles south of Khariar.[88] Śāmbilaka may be represented by San Doil or Sandohal, a village adjoining Nahna.[89]

5. (No. 5) A village, the name of which is lost due to the plate being damaged, previously granted by a person named Nanna.

6. (No. 6) Sunikā grāma in Hakirī bhoga.

7. (No. 7) Śiviliṅgaka grāma in Tosadḍa(ḍḍa) bhukti.

The bhukti of this inscription has been identified by Mirashi with Tusda near Dumarpalli, about thirty miles south-east of Arang, and by Pandeya with Tosara village in the old Patna State.[90]

[82]Sircar and Pandeya, [542], p. 144.
[83]Sircar and Pandeya, [542], p. 144.
[84]Dikshit, [115], pp. 264-65.
[85]Dikshit, [115], p. 265.
[86]Lal, [188], p. 283.
[87]Fleet, [137], p. 192, n. 1.
[88]Konow, [239], p. 172.
[89]Konow, [239], p. 172.
[90]Pandeya, [345], p. 20.

8. (No. 8) Cullaṇḍaraka grāma in Tuṇḍaraka bhukti.

The village in question has been identified with Childa village, 82°31' E and 21°30' N.[91] Tuṇḍaraka has been identified with Tundra in Baloda Bazar tahsil of Raipur ditrict, about six miles south of Seori Narayan on the Mahanadi, and about thirty-five miles west of Sarangarh.[92]

9. (No. 9) Srīsāhikā grāma in Pūrvva rāṣṭra. Lines 25-27 of the inscription state that in this village, the well known as the Śrīvāpikā, constructed within the mound on the land that skirts the eastern tank (taṭāka), and extending upto the road, was given to one of the two donees, Nāgavatsasvāmin, in excess of his exact share, because he was the elder.

Srīsāhikā has been identified with modern Sirsahi in Baloda Bazar tahsil, about twenty-five miles south-west of Tundra.

10. (No. 10) Āṣāḍhaka grāma in Tuḍā (or Tuṇḍa) rāṣṭra.

Tuḍā rāṣṭra has been identified with one of the villages named Tundam, Tundra, Tundri, or Tundragaon in the vicinity of Seori Narayan, about twenty-five to thirty miles from Thakurdiya.[93] The village Āṣāḍhaka has been identified with Asoud, 82°54' E and 21°45' N, about two miles north of the Mahanadi, within a distance of fifteen to twenty miles from the villages Tunda, Tundra, etc.[94]

In all, nine Śarabhapurīya inscriptions record the grant of one village, while one records the grant of two villages. The situation of gift villages in the same vicinity is suggested by the details of the grants recorded in inscription nos. 3 and 9: the villages granted by these inscriptions lay in Pūrvva rāṣṭra. The villages granted by inscription nos. 8 and 10 also seem to have been in the same vicinity as those granted by inscription nos. 3 and 9.

The grants were in most cases specifically stated to have been made in perpetuity (yāvad=ravi-śaśi-tārā-kiraṇa-pratihata-ghor-āndhakāraṁ jagad=avatiṣṭhate; to be enjoyed as long as the world having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of the sun, moon, and the stars endures). The donees were given the right to hidden treasures and deposits found on the land (sa-nidhis=s-opanidhi). The land in question was not to be entered by the cāṭas and bhaṭas (a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśya). It was, in most cases, declared to be exempt from all taxes (sarva-kara-visarjita), the residents being instructed to obey the donees, and to give them the dues known as the bhoga and bhāga. The Pipardula plates of Narendra state that the

[91]Mirashi, [305], p. 22.
[92]Lal, [188], p. 283.
[93]Mirashi, [305], p. 22.
[94]Mirashi, [305], p. 22.

residents were to give to the donee the meya, hiraṇya, and other pratyāyas. The Kurud plates of the same ruler state that the residents should obey the donee and give him the bhāga, dhānya, hiraṇya, etc.

The Pāṇḍuvaṁśī grants

Seven Pāṇḍuvaṁśī inscriptions record royal grants of land to Brāhmaṇas, while one records a grant made by the mother of a Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king to a temple establishment which included Brāhmaṇas of the three Vedas. The endowments made to Brāhmaṇa donees were as follows:

1. (No. 1) Sālagrāmāmantamaraka in Gula grāmaka in Ākāśa rāṣṭra which was attached to Cche(Che)ṇḍaparaṅga viṣaya.

2. (No. 2) Varddhamānaka in Pāñcagarttā viṣaya in Uttara-rāṣṭra in Mekalā.

Varddhamānaka has been identified with the find-spot, Bamhani.[95] Pāñcagarttā viṣaya has been identified with the region around Bamhani, watered by the five tributaries of the Soṇ river, the headquarters of the viṣaya perhaps being represented by Pachgaon, about three miles south of Sahdol.[96]

3. (No. 3) Bondaka and Avaḍika (apparently adjacent to Bondaka) in Piharāja bhukti.

Bondaka has been identified with the find-spot Bonda, about two miles from the bank of the Mahanadi, near Balpur in Raigarh.[97] Piharāja may be identified with Pihara, about one mile south-east of Bonda.[98]

4. (No. 4) Pimparipadraka in Peṇṭhāma bhukti.

5. (No. 6) Koṇtiṇīka grāma in Aṣṭadvāra viṣaya.

Koṇtiṇīka grāma has been identified with either Kathakoṇī or Kotmi villages, both about twelve miles from Adhabhara, the find-spot of the plates.[99] Aṣṭadvāra has been identified with Adhabhara, the find-spot of the plates.[100]

6. (No. 9) Vaṭapadraka in Kośira-Nandapura viṣaya.

Vaṭapadraka has been identified with Batapadaka village, about four miles from Bardula, the find-spot of the plate.[101] The headquarters of Kośira-Nandapura viṣaya has been identified with the site of two adjoining

[95]Chhabra, [67], p. 134.

[96]Chhabra, [67], p. 134. Krishnamacharlu (quoted in Chhabra, [67], p. 142, n. 6) read the name of the viṣaya as Pāṇḍagarttā, which he identified with modern Pandra, about fifty miles south-east of Sohagpur. Mekalā, according to Chhabra, p. 138) comprised the south-eastern part of the old Rewa State, as well as parts of the Bilaspur and the old Mandla districts.

[97]Sircar, [477], p. 114. [98]Sircar, [477]. [99]Jain, [211], p. 220

[100]Jain, [211], p. 220. [101]Desai, [113], p. 289.

villages, Nandapur, big and small, in Bilaspur district, not far from Sakti on the Bengal-Nagpur line.[102]

7. (No. 14) Śarkkarā pāṭaka in Lāyoḍḍaka viṣaya.

Lāyoḍḍaka has been tentatively identified with Lara village, about ten miles north-east of Bonda.[103]

The endowments are stated to have been made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-tāraka-nirodham / ā-candr-ārka-samakāl-opabhog-ārtham / yāvat ravi-śaśi-tārā-kiraṇa-pratihata-ghor-āndhakāram jagad=avatiṣṭhate). The privileges and exemptions attached to the holdings included the following: together with the tax known as udraṅga (s-odraṅga); together with the dues known as uparikara (sa-parikara), along with all taxes (sarva-kara-sameta/ sarva-kar-ādāna-sameta), not to be entered by the cāṭas and bhaṭas (a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa / pratiniṣiddha-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa), along with the hidden treasures and deposits (sa-nidhiḥ s-opanidhiś=ca), and free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-varjita). Five inscriptions (nos. 3, 9, 10, 14, 15) gave the donees the right to punish or realize fines from those guilty of the ten offences (sa-daśāparādha).[104] On the other hand, two inscriptions (nos.

[102]Desai, [113], p. 289. According to Desai, Kośira-Nandapura viṣaya appears to be the same as the Nandapura bhoga mentioned in the Pīpardulā plates of the Śarabhapurīya king Narendra. He adds that Narendrapur, the site with which he identifies the headquarters of the Kośira-Nandapura viṣaya, has reportedly yielded some ancient remains, including a silver coin of the Śarabhapurīya king Prasannamātra.

[103]Mirashi and Pandeya, [306], p. 63.

[104]The interpretation of this technical term is controversial. According to Fleet ([137], p. 189, n. 4), it indicates the right given to the donees to the proceeds of fines imposed on persons guilty of committing one or more of the ten offences. He suggests that the ten offences were the sins of the body, speech, the mind mentioned in texts such as the *Dharmasindhusāra* of Kāśināthopādhyāya (ch. 2, vv. 19 ff.) and the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgabhaṭa (Sūtrasthāna, ch. 1, vv. 21 ff.) as the following: theft, killing, the pursuit of other men's wives, harshness of language, untruthfulness, slander, incoherent conversation, coveting the property of another, thinking of wrong things, and holding to that which is not true. Ghoshal ([165], pp. 286-88) disagrees with Fleet's interpretation; his fundamental objection is that there is no basis for the supposition that the grant of rights of jurisdiction were ever intended to be given to the beneficiaries of religious grants. He suggests that sa-daśāparādha refers to the right of the donee to at least a partial exemption from the penalties for the commission of some traditional offences by the villagers. Jha ([217], pp. 90-91) agrees with Fleet's interpretation of sa-daś-āparādha as indicating the donee's rights to the proceeds of fines for certain offences, and points out that this implies that these fines ordinarily constituted a source of income for the state. The ten offences, however, he suggests, are more likely to have been those enumerated by Nārada as: the transgression of the kings's commands, the murder of a woman, the mixture of varṇas, intercourse with another man's wife, robbery, pregnancy caused by a man other than the husband, abuse, insulting language, assault, and procuring abortion (see Müller ed., [331], 33: 234-35, vv. 11-12). Kane ([224], 3: 264) points out that while some of these crimes, such as murder and robbery, were included among the vyavahārapadas (topics of litigation

1, 2) specifically state that the donees were not given the right to punish thieves (cora-daṇḍa-varjita).[105] The residents were asked to obey the donees and to live happily, rendering unto them dues such as the bhāga and bhoga. The Bonda plates of Tīvara (no. 3) contain the term 's-āputrika-veṇi-bhojya' (lines 22-23). D.C. Sircar suggests that it may refer to the right to enjoy the property of a person who died without leaving an heir.[106] The Rajim plates of Tīvara (no. 4) refers in lines 21-22 to the endowment being 'dāradraṇaka-sarva-kar-ādāna-sametaḥ.' The meaning of the term dāradraṇaka, evidently a revenue term, is not certain.[107]

PERIOD II: THE SEVENTH TO THE TENTH CENTURY

South and Central Orissa

The Śailodbhava grants

Twelve Śailodbhava inscriptions record grants to Brāhmaṇas. The endowments made to these Brāhmaṇas consisted of the following holdings:

1. (No. 1) Chavalakkhaya grāma in Kṛṣṇagiri viṣaya.

or dispute in which action was initiated by the parties involved), others, such as the mixture of varṇas (varṇa-saṁkara) were included by Nārada (verse 4) in the prakīṛṇaka (miscellaneous matters into which the king could initiate investigation even if no private complaint had been lodged).

[105]Fleet ([137], p. 98, n. 3) translates 'cora-daṇḍa varjam' as "with the exception of fines (imposed) on thieves." Ghoshal ([165], pp. 277-78) rejects this interpretation. He argues that the context in which the term occurs in the inscriptions suggests it to be an immunity granted to the donee and not a right reserved by the donor; that there is no evidence to suggest that the transfer of civil jurisdiction was ever intended in the case of religious grants; that village authorities never exercized criminal jurisdiction apart from that dealing with minor transgressions, and hence the question of the transfer of such rights to them never arose. According to Ghoshal, cora-varjam and its equivalents referred to the immunity of the donee from the tax imposed on villagers for the provision of the village police. As pointed out by Jha ([217], p. 89), Ghoshal's arguments are far from convincing. Cora-varjam, cora-daṇḍa-varjita, etc. seem to have referred to the exclusion of the donee from the right to try thieves or to levy fines on them, implying that the state reserved this right.

[106]Sircar, [477], p. 114. According to Sircar, the term 'veṇī' means 'reunited property after it was once divided.' He states that the term 'āputtrika-veṇi' is sometimes mentioned in the inscriptions as 'aputra,' 'āputraka,' or 'aputraka-dhana.'

[107]According to Fleet ([137], p. 299, n. 1), dāradraṇaka is a fiscal term. He states that while dictionaries translate 'dāra' variously as a cleft, gap, hole, ploughed field, wife, etc., they do not mention the word 'draṇaka' or any root whereby the latter word can be explained. Fleet suggests that dāra-draṇaka may refer either to an agricultural cess or to a marriage-tax. Saletore ([447], pp. 353-54) suggests that the occurrence of the term in connection with the granting of a village suggests that it refers to an agricultural tax, and not to a tax on marriages.

Chavalakkhaya has been identified with Sabuliya village near Khallikota railway station.[108] Hultzsch suggests that Kṛṣṇagiri may be the same as Nīlagiri, which is a name of Jagannātha Puri,[109] while Rajaguru prefers to identify it with a hill called Nīlagiri in Khallikota taluk of Ganjam district.[110]

2. (No. 2) Kumbhārache... in Aharaṇṇa/Āharaṇṇa village in Thoraṇa viṣaya. (The full name of the first place-name cannot be read. It may have ended in 'cheda,' meaning 'section,' in which case Kumbhāra-cheda may have referred to the potters' section in the village.)

3. (No. 3) Pūīpiṇo grāma in Khadira-pāṭṭaka in Guḍḍa viṣaya.

4. (No. 4) Amva(ba) grāma in Deva-grāma viṣaya.

5. (No. 5) Sā(Mā ?)la grāma in Thoraṇa viṣaya.

6. (No. 6) Twenty-three timpīras of land in Tamataḍā grāma attached to Vyāghrapura bhukti in Jayapura viṣaya

Jayapura has been identified with Jeypore estate.[111]

7. (No. 8) Twelve timmiras of land in a village (the name of which cannot be read) in Kaṭakabhukti viṣaya in Koṅgoda maṇḍala.

(There is a reference to pūrva-khaṇḍa in line 43; what exactly it refers to in relation to the gift land is not clear.)

8. (No. 9) Five ṭimpīras of land in Usavāṭaka grāma in Tanekaṇḍrā viṣaya.

Usavāṭaka has been identified with Ustapada village in the old Ranapur State in Puri district, where the plates were found.[112]

9. (No. 10) Nivinā grāma in Khiḍiṅgāhāra viṣaya. Line 47 of the inscription seem to refer to the additional grant of two timpiras of land.

Nivinā grāma has been identified with Nimmina in Ganjam district, the find-spot of the plates, while Khiḍiṅgāhāra has been identified with Khidingi in Kudala taluk of the same district.[113]

10. (No. 11) Śivā[dhi]vāsa (Rajaguru reads Śivāvivāsa[114]) grāma in [Ki]rā[ta]talaka (Rajaguru reads Śrīrājatilaka[115]) viṣaya in Koṅgoda maṇḍala.[116]

[108]Rajaguru, [404], 1, pt. 2: 160.

[109]Hultzsch, [198], p. 144.

[110]Rajaguru, [404], 1, pt. 2: 160.

[111]Majumdar ([274], p. 151) suggests that Jayapura viṣaya may be identical with the Jayakaṭaka viṣaya of Koṅgoda maṇḍala referred to in the Dharakota plate of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākara.

[112]Rajaguru, [404], 1, pt. 2:160.

[113]Chakravarti, [63], p. 38.

[114]Rajaguru, [404], 1, pt. 2: 215, l. 27.

[115]Rajaguru, [404], 1, pt. 2: 215, l. 27.

[116]Koṅgoda maṇḍala appears to have comprised modern Ganjam and Puri districts and the southern parts of Cuttack district (Ganguly, [145], p. 46). Koṅgoda also appears as the name of the capital of the Śailodbhava kingdom.

11. (No. 13) Half of Koṇḍeḍḍa village in Khiḍḍiṅgahāra viṣaya in Koṅgoda maṇḍala.

12. (No. 14) Two ṭimpiras of land in Duka grāma in Domgī grāma in Varttini viṣaya.

Varttini has been tentatively identified with Vartini in Athagada taluk of Ganjam district.[117]

Two of these grants—the Nivina and Puri plates of Dharmarāja (nos. 10 and 14)—specify the boundaries of the gift land. The boundary specifications in the Nivina plates are given in a vernacular that contains a mixture of Telugu and Oriya elements. The boundaries are indicated by various trikūṭas (a term often translated as the junction of three villages),[118] joḍas (canals), rows of forest trees, an ant-hill, and rocks. The boundaries of the gift land in the Puri plates are as follows: The village road in the east, a row of trees in the south, a tank (taṭāka) in the west, and a path with the boundary of the metal-workers' section (kāṁsakāra bhiṭṭāka bāstu) in the north.

The number of exemptions and privileges specified in most of the Śailodbhava grants to Brāhmaṇas are few. The grants usually indicate the perpetuity of the endowment (ā-candr-ārka-sama-kālam / ā-candr-ārka-kālam / ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam). Most of the grants further state that the land had been given after having made it tax-free (a-karīkṛtya / a-karatvena). In the Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja, the land is declared free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-varjita) and was not to be entered by cāṭas and bhaṭas (cāṭa-bhaṭ-āpraveśya). The phrase 'na-kiñcid-anaparagra' that occurs in this inscription perhaps should be read as 'na kiñcit-parigrahyaḥ,' indicating that the donees were not to be obstructed in any way. There is possibly a reference to the law governing permanent endowments (akṣaya-nīvi dharma) in the Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja (no. 1).[119]

The grants of Neṭṭabhañja

The Baud and Russellkonda plates of Neṭṭabhañja record the grant of the following land holdings:

1. (No. 1) A piece of land (khaṇḍa-kṣetra) called Stambakāra-launḍaka in Olāśṛṅga viṣaya.

[117]Rajaguru, [393], p. 181, n. 181.

[118]According to Sircar ([480], p. 79, n. 1), Oriya lexicons such as the *Pramoda Abhidhāna* support the translation of this word as 'a junction of three villages,' although in inscriptions it is not always associated with three villages.

[119]The relevant phrase has been read as 'akṣyanīye' by Hultzsch ([198], p. 145, l. 22). The intended reading, I suggest, may be 'akṣaya-nīvi.'

The land is said to have been granted with the fixed boundary of Battarāghāṭa (identified with Patrapada on the bank of a small river in Angul[120]). Olāśṛṅga has been identified with Oida on the north bank of the Mahanadi in the old Athamallik State.[121]

2. (No. 2) Caṇḍūtuṅga grāma (Rajaguru reads Baṇḍutuṅga[122]).

Rajaguru identifies Baṇḍutuṅga with Banatumva village, the find-spot of the plates.[123]

The Russellkonda plates simply indicate that the grant was made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-kṣitidhara-sama-kālāya). The Baud plates also stipulate the perpetuity of the endowment (candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam) but add that it was exempt from the obligation of paying taxes (kar-ādāna-varjita) and was to be free from all oppressions (sarv-ābādhā-parihṛta). The land is said to have been made tax-free (a-karīkṛtya).

The grants of the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka

Fifteen of the Śvetaka Gaṅga inscriptions record grants to Brāhmaṇas, while one (no. 11) records an endowment made in favour of two deities as well as to certain Brāhmaṇas (perhaps associated with the temple establishment). The endowments made by the kings of this dynasty consisted of the following land holdings:

1. (No. 1) Vaṭa grāma in Hāmanibhoga/Hāmaniagośa viṣaya.

2. (No. 2) Vadaribhaṣṭi grāma in Sāmantabhukti viṣaya.

3. (No. 3) Pherava grāma in Lauhaśṛṅgāra viṣaya. The gift land seems to have included the hamlet of Aśvatthaccheda.

Pherava grāma has been identified by M.S. Sharma with Barua in Sompeta taluk,[124] but according to R.C. Majumdar, this identification is not acceptable.[125] Lauhaśṛṅgāra viṣaya has been tentatively identified with Loisinga in the old Patna Feudatory State.[126]

4. (No. 4) A piece of land (khaṇḍa-kṣetra) in Paḍala[śū]ṅga grāma in Khalugakhā(kha)ṇḍa viṣaya.

5. (No. 5) Bhusuṇḍā grāma in Ṇḍāśṛṅga viṣaya.

6. (No. 6) A piece of land (khaṇḍa-kṣetra) called Svalpa-Kalañjara in Bhasaṇḍā grāma in Sāmantabhukti viṣaya. The land is said to measure ten murajas.

[120]Misra, [309], p. 105.
[121]Misra, [309], p. 105.
[122]Rajaguru, [372], p. 269, l. 21.
[123]Rajaguru, [372], p. 267.
[124]Sarma, [452], p. 58.
[125]Majumdar, [281], 113, n. 1.
[126]Majumdar, [281], pp. 112-13. Majumdar cautions that this identification cannot be considered certain or even probable until more definite information about the location of the Śvetaka Gaṅga kingdom is forthcoming.

Bhasaṇḍā grāma has been identified with Bhasunda village in Badakhimudi taluk, Ganjam district in Sāmantabhukti viṣaya.[127]

7. (No. 7) Bālamaśṛṅga grāma in Varttani viṣaya in Koṅgoda maṇḍala.

8. (No. 8) A piece of land (khaṇḍa-kṣetra) in Vāḍoḍe grāma in Khalgukhaṇḍa viṣaya.

9. (No. 9) Svalpa-Velura grāma in Khalgukhaṇḍa viṣaya.

10. (No. 10) Dvayaṁḍoli grāma in Ja[no ?]ra viṣaya.

11. (No. 11) Bheṭhiśṛṅga grāma in Paṭaṇi-khaṇḍa viṣaya.(CChabra reads the name of the viṣaya as Padraṇi-khaṇḍa or Paduṇi-khaṇḍa[128]).

12. (No. 12) Some land in Ameraśiṅga grāma in Jalamvora viṣaya.

Jalamvora has been identified with Jalmuru near Urlam in Ganjam district.[129]

13. (No. 13) Salacaṇikā/Salavaṇikā grāma (referred to in lines 14-15 of the inscription as a khaṇḍakṣetra) attached to Hemvakamaṭamva viṣaya. From a statement at the end of the inscription, it appears that the land measured four murajas.

14. Tanardā grāma in Hallanyara viṣaya.

15. Kāsi[ḍḍā] grāma in Jayaḍā viṣaya.

The endowments made by the Śvetaka Gaṅgas to Brāhmaṇas, thus, consisted in some cases of a piece of land and in others of a whole village. The land gifted by two of the inscriptions (nos. 2, 6) lay in Sāmantabhukti viṣaya, and by three of the inscriptions (nos. 4, 8, and 9) in Khalgukhaṇḍa viṣaya. The land gifted by inscription nos. 5 and 6 may have been located in or around the same village.

Eight of the inscriptions specify the boundaries of the gift land. The boundaries are indicated by the following land-marks:

No. 1: A modai tree; an aśvattha tree; a lake (sara). ('Sara' can also mean tank, pool, pond, etc.).[130]

No. 2: A morapāda tree; the boundary of the embankment (pālī); a siṇḍārā tree; twenty nalas to the west—the boundary of Dharmarāja's Kaliṅgā-mārga (Kaliṅga road).

No. 3: A dry river; the Meghāvatī river (which perhaps may be identified with one of the tributaries of the Tel[131]); the Kodrava canal (khālī); trenches; a hill.

No. 4: The boundary of Teṁtura grāma; a path; a gādari (?).

[127]Rajaguru, [402], p. 85, n.

[128]Chhabra's editorial note in Das Gupta, [95], p. 169, n. 1.

[129]Subba Rao, [560], p. 184. [130]*SED.*, p. 1182. [131]Majumdar, [281], p. 113.

No. 6: The limit of the eastern bank (āli) of the lake/tank (puṣkaraṇī); the boundary of the artisans' section (karmakāra-cheda-sīmā); the boundary of a lake (sara); the section (cheda) of Skandaśarman.[132]
No. 8: The embankments at the boundaries of the field.
No. 12: The western bank of the tank (puṣkaraṇī) as far as the river; the bhoga-pāṭaka (perhaps indicating a gift village) of Vṛddha-bhogika; the river as far as the middle of its bed.
No. 13: Three ant-hills; a tank (taṭāka); a forest (araṇya); a tank called Kośaṁva; a tank called Udaya.

The agrahāras endowed by the Śvetaka Gaṅgas were, in most cases, specifically stated to be made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam / ā-candr-ārka-kāla-pratiṣṭham) and to have been made tax-free (a-karikṛtya). The Ganjam plates of Jayavarman (no. 4) contain the term 'padra-sahitena,' which appears to mean 'along with the inhabited area.'[133] A few of the inscriptions—the Ganjam plates of Pṛthivivarmadeva (no. 10), the Indian Museum plates of Indravarman (no. 11), the Badakhimedi plates of Indravarman (no. 14), and the Ganjam plates of Dāṇārṇava (no. 15)—state that the land was granted along with water, land, and forests (sa-jala-sthal-āraṇya). The Ganjam plates of Dāṇārṇavadeva state that the land was granted along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala), along with the inhabited area and forests (sa-padr-āraṇya), and along with forests and bushes (s-āṭavī-viṭapa-samanvita). The land granted by the Indian Museum plates of Indravarman was given, among other things, along with half the bank (evidently of a river or stream that flowed by).

One of the Śvetaka Gaṅga inscriptions—the Ganjam grant of Pṛthivivarmadeva (no. 10) records the grant of a a kara-śāsana (a revenue-paying endowment). Instead of the usual stipulation of the tax-free nature of the endowment that occurs in other inscriptions, lines 20-21 of this grant state that the land was given subject to the payment of taxes (sa-karīkṛtya),

[132]It is possible that the reference to Skanadaśarman's section indicates a brahmadeya settlement adjacent to the piece of land gifted by this inscription.

[133]Fleet ([137], p. 170, n. 3) cites Monier-Williams' various explanations of 'padra:' a village, a road in a village, the earth, a particular district (see *SED.*, p. 585). He also cites Bühler's explanation of padra as being the same in meaning as 'padr,' 'a grazing place' (Bühler, [60], p. 337). Fleet supports Wilson's [582] explanation of pādar (i.e. padr) as 'common land, land adjacent to a village left uncultivated.' Gupta ([173], p. 73) disputes this, and asserts that according to the lexicons, 'padra' means a village. According to Jha ([217], pp. 9-10), too, Wilson's interpretation is unacceptable. Jha supports Sankalia's conclusion ([448], p. 52) that, when compounded with the name of a village, the suffix 'padra' indicated a place of habitation in, around, or on a road leading to a particular village.

and the annual rent is specified as four palas of silver (prativarṣaṁ rūpya-palāni catvāri deyaṁ).

The grants of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara and their feudatories (inscription nos. 14-40)

Seventeen of this set of Gaṅga inscriptions record grants to Brāhmaṇas. The endowments recorded are as follows:

1. (No. 14) Poppaṅgika grāma in Sarau maṭamba in Kroṣṭukavarttanī.

Poppaṅgika has been identified with Poppagi village, and Sarau with Sarvakota village.[134]

2. (No. 15) Haduvaka grāma in Puṣyagiri-pañcāli viṣaya.

Haduvaka has been identified with the find-spot, Sudava.[135]

3. (No. 16) Navatula grāma in Korasoḍaka-pañcāli viṣaya.

Navatula has been identified with Nautala, a hamlet about six miles south-west of Parlakimedi, and Korasoḍaka with Koroshanda, six miles south of Parlakimedi, in Ganjam district.[136]

4. (No. 17) A hala of land in the brahmacāri section (brahmacāri-cheda) of Siddhātthaka grāma in Varāhavattanī.

Siddhātthaka has been identified with Siddhantam (near Srikakulam), the find-spot of the plates, and Varāhavarttanī tentatively with the area between the Vamsadhara and Nagavali rivers.[137]

5. (No. 18) Tālatthera grāma in Kroṣṭukavarttanī.

6. (No. 19) Kālamaḍam vi(bi)śakuna grāma in Vārāhavarttanī (Varāhavarttanī).[138]

7. (No. 20) Cikhallikā grāma in Phareya bhukti.

8. (No. 22) Mede[lā]ka grāma in Tirikaṭu viṣaya.

9. (No. 24) Musunikā(ka) grāma, attached or adjacent to Sidhathā in Varāhavarttanī.

Musunika has been identified with Musunuru.[139] Sidhathā is probably identical with Sidhathā of the Bangalore plates of Devendravarman (no. 25), and perhaps is represented by modern Siddhantam.[140] Varāhavarttanī has been identified as comprising the area around Chicacole (Srikakulam).[141]

10. (No. 27) Puruṣṭhanā or Puruṣjvanā grāma in Bukudravaka in Lohadaṅgara.

[134]Rajaguru, [404], 2: 63.
[135]Ghoshal, [164], p. 63.
[136]Ghoshal, [163], p. 234.
[137]Pantulu, [363], p. 213.
[138]A possible reading could be 'Śakuna grāma in Kāla maḍamba.'
[139]Narasimham, [335], p. 118.
[140]Mirashi, [300], p. 26.
[141]Mirashi, [300], p. 26.

11. (No. 31) Tāmaracheru grāma in Varāhavartanī viṣaya.

12. (No. 33) Siṇicaraṇa grāma and also perhaps (the text is rather corrupt here) two hundred halas of land belonging to the kuṭumbin Rokū (?), as well as a tank (taṭāka).

13. (No. 35) Perhaps Jaḍyālā kṣetra (the passage is defective).

14. (No. 36) Pagaḍākheḍa grāma in Narendrave bhoga.

15. (No. 38) Kandalivāḍa grāma in Sahakoluvarttanī.[142]

In lines 22-23, the gift village is referred to as 'Siviḍi-praveśa,' which may mean that it was adjacent to or had access through Siviḍi, or that its rent was assessed along with that of Siviḍi.[143]

16. (No. 39) Na(Nā)pitavāṭaka grāma in Koluva[r*]ttanī.

17. (No. 40) A piece of land producing 101 standard measures of paddy (dhānya) as well as four hiḍas[144] in Dvikāthadha village in Dvipaṁca sīman (division).

Dharmmapura has been identified with Dharmmarajapur in the old Dharakota zamindari in Aska taluk.[145]

It may be noted that the land gifted by inscription nos. 14, 18, and 39 lay in Kroṣṭukavarttanī, while that of nos. 17, 19, 24, and 31 lay in Varāhavarttanī. This indicates the clustering of some of the brahmadeya settlements in these particular areas.

The boundaries of most of these endowments are specified and comprised the following land-marks:[146]

> No. 14: Various trenches, including one that apparently marked the boundary of the viṣaya (viṣaya garttā) and one in which the water from the Poppaṅgika hill and that from the Sāyadaka hill unites and runs; a kosamba tree; a giṇigiṇi tree; the boundary of Kuruḍumbi village; tinduka trees; a kadamba tree; a jambā tree; a bamboo clump.[147]

[142]According to Subba Rao ([556], p. 148) Siviḍi in Kandalivāda village was the gift land; he identifies Siviḍi with Chidivalasa, the find-spot of the plates.

[143]Sircar, [480], p. 78, n. 1. Jha ([217], pp. 155-56) disputes Sircar's suggestion that 'Siviḍi-praveśa' may mean that the village in question had its rent assessed with Siviḍi. He asserts that praveśya (or praveśa) means 'on the border of.'

[144]According to Sircar ([478], p. 48), 'hiḍa' is an Oriya word meaning embankment; he adds, however, that here it seems to refer to a piece of raised, i.e. homestead land, and has the same meaning as the Oriya word 'bhiṭa' or 'bhiṭā.'

[145]Rajaguru, [395], p. 175.

[146]The reading as well as meaning of some of the land-marks is not certain.

[147]According to Rajaguru ([404], 2: 67, n.), Poppangika may be identified with modern Voppangi village and Kuruḍumbi with Kurudingi, not far from Sarakota in Srikakulam district.

No. 16: A vibhītaka tree situated at a trikūṭa at the bank of the Koñca trench in the midst of Navatula and Malava, north-west of Kellaḍā; a kapittha (?) in the midst of Navatula and Kellaḍā; an ant-hill; an embankment; a polla and kośamba tree; the water of the hill, etc.
No. 17: Rocks, including one at the foot of the bund of the tank (taṭāk-āli-mūle); a tūṣkaḥkaraka (?) tree; a trench; ciñca (tamarind) trees.
No. 18: The summit of Devaparvata; a row of forest trees (vana-rāji); Tālatthera; Hemaśṛṅga; several trikūṭas; several ant-hills, including two at the boundary (sandhi) of Kavāṭa; kośāmra trees; various rows of ciñca trees including those at the trikūṭa of Vasantapura, at the trikūṭa of Soma-vāṭaka, and at the trikūṭa of Dhāra-vāṭaka; Koṅga parvata; the eastern bank of the well (vāpī-pūrv-āli); the trikūṭa of Dumūlli at the summit of the hill; the royal road (rāja-mārga); a nimba tree; the sandhi of Kapāṭ; a row of kuḍuṅgas (?); the bank of a tank (taṭāka); a trench (garttā); various trees; Pipū, Korkkaṇṭa, and Salavadeva hills.
No. 19: The aśvattha tree on the embankments (sarva-pāli) at Sindhivāsa at the boundary of Indrapura; several rows of forest trees; the water course (jala-mārga) flowing in the shape of a half-moon at the trikūṭa of Indrapura and Dantapura grāmas; the well (kūpa) at the boundary of Dirpikavāṭaśakuna grāma; a nandi tree; a row of forest trees along with a water course (jala-mārga) at the boundary of Oruvaṅgapāḍā and Śakuna grāma; the trikūṭa of Piśāhali, Vukaḍapāṭaka, [Sā]mantapāṭaka, and Śra(Śa)kuna grāma.
No. 20: The Ḍollamgī and other trenches; various embankments (setu); rocks; a well (vāpī).
No. 22: Various rows of forest trees; rocks; the Caṭera river; a group of tentali (tamarind) trees; the Gurā tank (taṭāka); the Kalajñā tank (taṭāka); a trench (garttā); a vaṭa (banyan) tree; a trikūṭa.
No. 24: The embankment (āli) of the Dhānya tank (taṭāka); the trench (garttā) marking Musinaka, Murumvaka, and Aralaka; the summits of various hills; the north-west pasture (go-cara) upto the Vāṅśa trench; the north-east pasture of Musinaka; a nyagrodha (banyan) tree at the boundary of Yavayaṭika, Yāmivāṭaka, and Musunika; the flow of the embankment (āli); the north-east pasture.
No. 27: The already-established boundary of an embankment (setu).
No. 31: Various rows of forest trees; boulders; Tentalī; an ant-hill.
No. 35: Several boulders, including one placed on account of the rāja-śāsana at the common boundary of of Jaḍyālā and Voṅkara villages; halaṁdū trees; a bhātakī tree; dhanaṁjaya trees; several tintriṇi trees; a trench; several ant-hills; nimba trees; a viṣa tree. The land seems to

have lain along a road (mārga) between Jáḍyālā and Voṅkhara villages, and included a taṭāka (tank).

No. 36: The river; a vaṭa (banyan) tree; a cluster of bushes or an outpost (gulmaka);[148] a tintiṇi tree; an audumvara tree; the summit of a hill going to Asuralekam.

No. 38: Several tintrīṇi trees, including one at the trikūṭa of Siviḍi, Bhrāḍivāḍa, and Kandalivāḍa; various rows of forest trees, including one with nimba trees, another with tintilī and tāla trees, and another with three tāla trees and a haridrā tree at the trikūṭa of Kandavivāḍa, Nāpina(ta)vāḍa, and Siviḍi; groups and rows of rocks; a hill; an ant-hill near a haridra tree, and another at the trikūṭa of Kandalivāḍa, Kolandāri, and Nāpitā(ta)vāḍa;[149] a śālmali tree.

No. 39: Various ant-hills, including one at the trikūṭa of [Di]bu, Siviḍi, and Nāyadavāṭa, another at Bhāju, and another east from Keva; rows of forest trees, including one that ran upto the trikūṭa, and another that ran up to the ant-hill at the trikūṭa of Kandakavāṭaka, Kolala, and Nāpitavāḍaka grāmas,[150] another that ran upto a tank (taṭāka); various rocks situated at trikūṭas; trenches.

No. 40: The boundaries of the land were clearly defined by rocks.

The holdings of land gifted by this group of Gaṅga kings to Brāhmaṇas were constituted into agrahāras that were granted in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-pratiṣṭham / ā-candr-ārkam).[151] The gift land was in most cases declared exempt from all taxes (sarva-kara-bharaiḥ parihṛtya / sarva-karaiḥ parihṛtya / sarva-kara-bharān=muktvā / sarva-kara-bharāt =prati-mucya / sarva-kara-parihāreṇa). The residents of the villages were told to live happily, rendering unto the donees the dues known as the bhāga and bhoga. The Siddhantam plates of Devendravarman (no. 17) state that the land was granted together with the entrance to the water-course or together with the water-course and the habitation (udaka-mārga-niveśena-sahitā), and adds that during the summer months the water was to be enjoyed

[148]Gulma (or gulmaka) may mean, according to the context, a bush, squadron, or an outpost (Sircar, [486], p. 123). *SED*, (p. 360) gives the following meanings: a cluster or clump of trees, thicket, bush, shrub; a troop or guard of soldiers, body of troops, division of an army, etc.

[149]It may be noted that in all three cases where the term 'trikūṭa' occurs in this inscription, it refers to three villages,

[150]'Trikūṭa' here, again refers to three villages.

[151]A few inscriptions do not specify the privileges and/or exemptions bestowed on the land. These are nos. 22, 31, and 36.

equally with the other householders (grīṣm-odakaṁ kuṭumbais=tulyam), and that none was to obstruct the donee in his enjoyment of the land. The Santa Bomvali grant of Nandavarman (no. 20) contains a reference to 'niveśana-sahita' (lines 19-20), which may be translated as 'together with the habitation.' The Indian Museum plates of Devendravarman (no. 27) state that future kings, royal officers, cāṭas and bhaṭas, daṇḍapāśikas, and others were not to cause any obstruction to the donee, and that nobody was to dispute the boundaries of the land. The Tekkali plates of Anantavarman (no. 33) state that the land was granted along with the tank (taṭākena sahitam). The Kalahandi plates of Vajrahasta (no. 35) also state that the land granted included a tank (taṭāka-sahita-bhūmi). The frequent references to water resources such as tanks in these inscriptions may be noted.

Two of the grants being considered here appear to record kara-śāsanas. One is the Kalahandi grant of Vajrahasta (no. 35). According to D.C. Sircar, the passage in lines 22-23 which reads "samvacchare (saṁvatsare) karaḥ Phālguna-prati[padi*]ā[kha(i ?)-pāñca-deḍaḥ"—the import of which Banerji says he is not sure[152]—seems to stipulate the amount of annual rent to be paid in the month of Phālguna. Sircar points out that 'sāṁvatsarik-karaḥ' means annual rent.[153] The other kara-śāsana is the Chicacole grant of Anantavarman (no. 40). This indicates the fixing of the revenue at ten māṣakas (probably meaning either ten coins or silver weighing ten māṣakas).[154] The same inscription also says that the land was to be enjoyed along with all the other exemptions (apara-samasta-parihāreṇa bhokta-vyam).

North Orissa

The Bhauma-Kara grants

Twelve Bhauma-Kara inscriptions record endowments of land to Brāhmaṇas. The endowments made consisted of the following land holdings:

1. (No. 2) Three villages: Kompāraka in the valley of the hills (parvata-droṇi) in Pañcāla viṣaya, and Daṇḍāṅki and Yoka in Vubhyudaya viṣaya.[155]

[152]Banerjee, [18], p. 321, n. 7. [153]Editor's note in Banerjee, [18], p. 392, n. 1.

[154]Sircar points out ([478], p. 49) that while according to *Manu* (8. 135) and some other early law-givers, a māṣaka of silver weighed two ratis, i.e. 3.66 grains, the Madras Museum plates of Narendradhavala seem to speak of a māṣaka of 5 or 8 ratis of silver. Sircar continues that the *Śabdakalpadruma* mentions māṣakas of 5, 6, 7, and 8 ratis.

[155]According to Banerji ([31], p. 2), the villages gifted were two in number—parvata-

It seems that the latter two villages were combined into one large brahmadeya settlement under the name of Saloṇapura. (The beneficiaries of this grant were two hundred Brāhmaṇas.)

Kompāraka has been identified with Kupari (20°19'N; 86°25'E) in Baleshwar district.[156]

2. (No. 5) Vuvradā grāma in Antarudra viṣaya.

Vuvradā has been identified by Tripathi with Vanvarada, nearly three miles from Chaurasi, in Antarodha pargana,[157] and by Misra with Buhuruda (19°10'N; 85°58'E), about ten miles north-east of Puri.[158] Antarudra viṣaya has been identified with Antarodha pargana in Sadr subdivision in Puri district.[159]

3. (No. 8) Lavāgaṇḍā grāma in Sulāntarakurbha viṣaya.

4. (No. 10) Guṇḍaja or Gujjāṭa grāma in Jayakaṭaka viṣaya.

Guṇḍaja has been identified with Gundrivadi (19°13'N; 84°27'E), about ten miles northwest of the headquarters of Dharakota taluk.[160] Jayakaṭaka has been tentatively identified with the area near Jayagada, now called Jaugada.[161]

5. (No. 11) Kontasparā grāma in Olāśrama viṣaya.

Kontasparā has been identified with Kantapara (20°8'N; 86°4'E) in Cuttack district, and Olāśrama with Olasa (20°9'N; 86°1'E) in Cuttack district.[162]

6. (No. 17) Villa or Vilva grāma in Varaḍā-khaṇḍa viṣaya in Pūrvva-khaṇḍa.

Vilva has been identified with Belagan (19°20'N; 84°51'E) in Athagarh taluk in Ganjam district; a portion of Ganjam district near Aska is still known as Pūrvva-khaṇḍa.[163]

7. (No. 18) [Ga]rasāmbhā or Rasambhā grāma.

Rasambhā has been identified with Rambha in Khallikota taluk in Ganjam district.[164]

droṇī Komparāka in Pañcāla viṣaya and Daṇḍāṅkiyoka in Pāñcāla and Vubhyudaya viṣayas in Uttara-Tosalī.

[156]Misra, [318], p. 3. Misra points out that Kupari lies near a hill, and has yielded some Buddhist sculptures dating to the ninth century.

[157]Tripathi, [568], p. 301. Tripathi adds that the modern Brāhmaṇa residents of this village, like the donees of this grant in question, belong to the Kātyāyana gotra.

[158]Misra, [318], p. 8.

[159]Tripathi, [568], p. 301.

[160]Misra, [318], p. 21.

[161]Rajaguru, [377], p. 192.

[162]Misra, [318], p. 24.

[163]Misra, [318], p. 58.

[164]Misra, [318], p. 59.

8. (No. 19) Sāntīra grāma along with Komyosaṅga in Pacha(ści)ma-khaṇḍa[165] in Tamura viṣaya.

The headquarters of Tamura viṣaya has been tentatively identified with Tamur (21°18'N; 85°14'E) in the old Pal-Lahara State.[166]

9. (No. 20) Kaṁtsarā-nagari grāma,[167] upto the boundary of Vāṁsiliccheda attached to Khiḍiṅgāhāra viṣaya.

Kaṁtsarā has been tentatively identified with the find-spot Ghantasila, about five miles west of Chilka lake, while Khiḍiṅgāhāra has been identified with Khedajhari, about ten miles north-west of Ghantasila.[168]

10. (No. 25) Choḍāt[vutsā] grāma in Uregoḍḍā-khaṇḍa, near Mai[r]emau (the reading of this place-name is not certain) khaṇḍaka.

11. (No. 25) Śakemvā village and ten malas (i.e. mālas) of land in Deśalā village in Keṇavā-khaṇḍa.[169]

12. (No. 26) Tarataloi grāma in Talamura viṣaya.

Tararaloi has been identified with Taltali, near the find-spot Malishahi, while the headquarters of Talamura viṣaya has been identified with Talmul, a Brāhmaṇa śāsana village, a mile away from Taltali.[170]

Two of the Bhauma-Kara grants to Brāhmaṇas— the Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādevī (no. 17) and the Kumurang plate of Daṇḍimahādevī (no. 20)—specify the boundaries of the gift land.[171] The land-marks mentioned are as follows:

> No. 17. The peak of a hill; various gāḍis (?); the boundaries of Hoṇḍala grāma (identified with Hundalu—18°3'N; 84°53'E—in Ganjam district);[172] Khaīrapaṭa grāma.
> No. 20. Mahākāleśvara grāma; a tāla (palm) tree; an embankment; a vandha (i.e. bandha—dam or road[173]); a samudra-kara-vandha (perhaps an embankment on the sea shore, where taxes were being levied); a setu (bridge or embankment); a place called Rayāḍa.

[165]According to Sircar ([515], p. 86), it seems that Pūrva and Paścima khaṇḍas merely refer to the eastern and western divisions of a viṣaya.

[166]Misra, [318], p. 51.

[167]Misra ([318], p. 61) suggests that the suffix 'nagari' in the name of the gift village indicates that it had a large population.

[168]Misra, [318], p. 61.

[169]According to Misra's reading ([318], pp. 54, l. 25; 56), the gift village was called Deśalā, while Banerji's reading ([17], p. 250 and n. 4) indicates that the land gifted was ten mālas of land in Deśaṇa grāma.

[170]Das and Panigrahi, [90], p. 216.

[171]The boundaries of the village gifted by the grant of Vakulamahādevī (no. 24) are simply described as being well-known.

[172]Misra, [318], p. 58.

[173]Sircar, [486], p. 45.

The Bhauma-Kara endowments are, as usual, said to have been made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam).[174] The exemptions and privileges bestowed on the endowments include some of the usual ones: the land was granted together with the dues known as the uparikara (s-oparikara), together with the space above the ground (s-oddeśa), and was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-varjita). Some of the less common terms that appear in the Bhauma-Kara charters are the following: 'sa-tantravāya-gokuṭa-śauṇḍik-ādi-prakṛtikaḥ,' 'sa-kheṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadi-tara-sthān-ādi-gulmakaḥ,' and 'a-lekhanī-praveśatayā.' The first of these terms apparently indicates that the land was granted along with weavers, cow-herds, brewers, and other subjects. The second term may be translated as 'along with the outposts situated in the village, at landing or bathing places, and ferries, etc..' This term may have had fiscal implications, referring to the right to collect dues at these outposts, or may refer to the grant of control over military outposts.[175] 'A-lekhanī-praveśatayā' may have meant that the land in question could never become the subject of another document, i.e. could neither be regranted nor transferred by the donee to anyone.[176]

In most cases, the grant is said to have been made according to the bhūmicchidr-āpidhāna-nyāya, registered on a copperplate, and made tax-free according to the akṣaya-nīvi dharma (the law of non-transferability governing permanent endowments). Bhūmicchidr-āpidhāna-nyāya—literally, 'the rule or principle of covering the hole'—is akin to another technical term that often makes its appearance in land grants—bhūmicchidra-nyāya. The latter term (literally 'the law of a hole or a furrow in the ground') seems to have indicated that the land was granted along with all the rights of ownership, such as those to which a person who brought fallow land under cultivation for the first time became entitled.[177]

[174]Ll. 39-40 of the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādevī add that this gift of śrī Siddha Gaurī should last as long as the Gaṅgā flowed, and as long as the sea and the stars existed.

[175]Sharma ([458], p. 283) points out that *Manu* 7. 114 refers to military outposts (gulmaka) stationed in villages by the king. According to Sharma, the term 'sa-gulmaka' indicates that the donees were given control over the local coercive machinery, which facilitated the exercise of their fiscal privileges and the maintenance of the self-sufficient rural economy by force.

[176]This has been suggested by Sircar, [515], p. 86.

[177]Ghoshal, [165], p. 296. In the *Arthaśāstra* (2. 2) there is a section on 'bhūmichidr-āpidhānaṁ.' The king is advised herein to allot pastures for cattle on land unsuitable for agriculture, and to grant land in the wilderness to ascetics for the study of the Veda and for the performance of sacrifices; he is also advised to lay out forests and animal parks for his recreation on such land. Kangle ([225], pt. 2, p. 59) translates the term 'bhūmichidr-āpidhānaṁ' as 'the disposal of non-agricultural land.' This does seem to be the connotation of this term in this section of the *Arthaśāstra*. The meaning of bhūmichidra in the inscriptions,

The Angul plate of Dharmamahādevī (no. 25) seems to record a kara-śāsana. According to D.C. Sircar's reading, the relevant portion of the inscription states that the village Śakemvā was given as a revenue-free gift while ten mālas of land in Deśalā village were given subject to the annual payment of three palas of silver.[178]

PERIOD III: THE TENTH TO THE MID-TWELFTH CENTURY

North and Central Orissa

The grants of the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

Ten of the inscriptions of the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala record grants of land to Brāhmaṇas. The endowments consisted of the following holdings:

1. (No.1) Kumurukelā grāma along with Jaintāmurā in Uttarapalli.
2. (No. 2) Milupāḍi khaṇḍakṣetra in Royarā viṣaya.

where it appears frequently, is, however, a matter of debate. Fleet and Bühler interpret it as meaning land fit to be ploughed or cultivated (Fleet, [137], p. 138, n. 2). Barnett ([42], p. 165) sees the reference to bhūmichidra-nyāya as indicating that the donees in question held the land under the same condition as that applied to tenants holding land in wildernesses, forests, etc.—that the king reserved the right to eject them at will. This view is evidently incorrect, as the grants in almost all cases are specifically stated to have been made in perpetuity. According to Sircar ([487], pp. 397-98), the technical term bhūmichidra-nyāya was based on the ancient custom that a person who brought fallow land under cultivation for the first time was entitled to its tax-free enjoyment. In course of time, Sircar continues, the connotations of the term bhūmichidra changed, and it came to refer to uncultivable (kṛṣy-ayogyā) land. Epigraphic evidence does not support this hypothesis. The details of the majority of land grants of Orissa (and those belonging to other parts of India as well for that matter) do not suggest that the land gifted was either uncultivated or uncultivable. If it originally possessed either meaning (as *Arthaśāstra* 2. 2 suggests it did), that was lost by the time the term appears in early medieval inscriptions, where it may simply have been meant to emphasise the comprehensive rights in land bestowed on the beneficiaries of royal grants. Sircar ([515], p. 86) has suggested that the idea of 'bhūmichidr-āpidhāna-nyāya' seems to have arisen from a misunderstanding of the original meaning of bhūmicchidra-nyāya. He suggests that the idea behind the former term was probably that the loss of lands due to various causes was compensated by the gift of land. He adds, however, that the term may also simply refer to the custom relating to the reclamation of fallow land.

[178]The passage in question has been read differently by different scholars. Misra ([318], p. 54, l. 26, and n. 20) reads "kara-tṃīya-laruka," and says that the phrase is unintelligible. Banerji ([17], p. 250, and n. 5) reads "kara-trini(ṇī) palarukaḥ," adds that Misra's reading may also be correct, and is not able to give the meaning of the phrase. Sircar ([516], p. 8) reconstructs the entire passage in the following manner: "Deśalāgra(grā)ma-da(sa)śa-ma(mā)la-vibhāgaḥ kara-trinī-pala-ru(rū) (pya*)kaḥ pratipāditaṁ(taḥ)."

Royarā has been identified as situated on the borders of the old Sonpur State.[179]

3. (No. 3) Singarā-mahallopī grāma in Dakṣiṇa-palli-bhogī-khaṇḍa, on the banks of the Vyāghra river.

The Vyāghra river has been identified with the Bagh river.[180]

4. (No. 4) Vāriśāmā grāma in Rāirā viṣaya, on the banks of the Mora river.

5. (No. 5) Ṭasapaikerā grāma in Utra(ttara)-palli, on the banks of the Mahānadī river (the same as its modern namesake).

6. (No. 7) Hastileṇḍā grāma along with Paca(ñca)-pallī, in Tullāsidgā viṣaya.

7. (No. 8) Vāllāśrīṅga khaṇḍakṣetra in Kh[ā*]tiā viṣaya.

8. (No. 9) Amvasari grāma in Dakṣiṇa-pali-Sivarākhaṇḍa.

9. (No. 10) Konatinthi grāma in Khātiyā viṣaya.

10. (No. 11) Turallā grāma in Tullaśṛṅga viṣaya.

It may be noted that several inscriptions describe the land gifted to Brāhmaṇas as being located on the banks of rivers. Further, the gift land of two of the inscriptions (nos. 3 and 9) was located in Dakṣiṇa-palli, while that of two others (nos. 8 and 10) was located in Khātiā/Khātiyā viṣaya.

Leaving aside the occasional indication in a few of the inscriptions of the name of the river running past the gifted land, a more detailed specification of the boundaries occurs in only one of these inscriptions—the Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja (no. 8). The land-marks referred to are the Śālaṅki river (identified with the Salki[181]), the Mahānadī, two aśvattha trees, and a rock.

The grants of the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali maṇḍala mention only one privilege bestowed on the land granted to Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries. This is expressed in the phrase 'nidhy-upanidhi sahita' (or sa-nidhiś=c=opanidhiś=ca), indicating that the donees had the right to hidden treasures and deposits found on the land.

The grants of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

All fourteen grants of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala record endowments of land to Brāhmaṇas. The endowments made by these kings were of the following holdings:

1. (No. 1) Macchaudra grāma.

2. (No. 2) Rātaṅga / Arātaha grāma in Vā[su]deva-khaṇḍa viṣaya.

[179]Mazumdar, [295], p. 101.

[180]Mazumdar, [292], p. 481.

[181]Konow, editorial note in Banerji, [38], p. 327, n. 4.

Rātaṅga has been identified with Rottongo in Gumsur taluk, while the headquarters of the viṣaya mentioned here has been identified with Vasudevapur, four miles from Rottongo.[182]

3. (No. 3) Macchaḍa grāma in Machāḍa-khaṇḍa viṣaya.

Macchaḍa may be identified either with Machgaon in Cuttack district[183] or with Mujagodo in Gumsur taluk.[184]

4. (No. 4) Karañjāḍu grāma in Sāraḍḍā viṣaya.

Karañjāḍu may be identified either with Komanda or with Karada, about sixteen miles north of Komanda; Sāraḍḍā has been identified with Arada, about ten miles east of Komanda.[185]

5. (No. 5) Peṭṭasara grāma in Māṇḍi[ḍḍā] viṣaya.

6. (No. 6) Deūlaḍḍa grāma in Śalvaḍa viṣaya.

7. (No. 7) Tuṇḍ[u]rāva grāma in Ramalavva/Ramalavdha viṣaya.

8. (No. 8) Mu(Mū)la-māchāḍa grāma in Māchāḍa-khaṇḍa viṣaya.

This is the same as the gift village of inscription no. 3.

9. (No. 9) A part of Gundapāṭaka grāma in Nānvakhaṇḍa viṣaya.[186]

10. (No. 10) Valkā khaṇḍakṣetra in Droladā grāma, along with the cowherds' section (gokuṭa bhāga-bhāga(ka)-saha).

11. (No. 11) Koṅkaira grāma in Paścima-khaṇḍa of Ramalava viṣaya.

12. (No. 12) Komvavāḍā grāma in Vodākhaṇḍa viṣaya.

13. (No. 13) Two villages: Seḍā grāma in Nānākhaṇḍa viṣaya, along with Rāi grāma.

14. (No. 14) Kontamullo/Kontamallo grāma in Sulavāḍḍa viṣaya.

Two of these inscriptions specify the boundaries of the gift land. These are the Orissa and Daspalla plates of Neṭṭabhañja (nos. 9 and 10). The landmarks referred to in these inscriptions are as follows:

No. 9: The Śrī-Raṇabhañja-va(ba)ndha (possibly a reservoir constructed by Raṇabhañja's successor in his memory); the boundary of the road.

[182]Hiralal, [187], p. 301.

[183]Hiralal, [187], p. 301.

[184]*MER* 1917-18: 136.

[185]Panigrahi, [359], p. 173.

[186]It is not certain whether this was a gift to a Brāhmaṇa. The donee was vaṇik Ivadata(tta)ka of the Kāśyapa gotra, great grandson of vaṇik Gargadata(tta), grandson of Apadata(tta), and son of Vapadata(tta). The donee is said to have come from Tṛ(Tri)bhuvanapura in Varendri. It is not clear whether this is a case of Brāhmaṇa merchant or of the use of the gotra by a non-Brāhmaṇa. A reference at the end of the inscription seems to record an additional grant of land in Gundapāṭaka, the gift village, in favour of (the deity) Śrī Pṛi(Pu)ruṣottama. The land in question is said to have been constituted into a brahmapura.

No. 10: A small trench (garttā); a stream; the summit of a hill.[187]

The Brāhmaṇa holdings mentioned in two of the inscriptions (nos. 7 and 11) were located in Ramalava viṣaya. It may be noted that inscription nos. 3 and 8 indicate the re-granting of the same village to a different donee. There is a passage at the end of inscription no. 9 which suggests that the land granted by this charter was gifted in addition to some previously gifted land (pūrva-datta-pāṭaka-sahitena), which may have been located in the same area.

The grants of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala are generally declared to have been made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-tārā-yāvat / ā-candr-ārka-sama-kālaṁ yāvat / ā-candr-ārka-yāvat / ā-candr-ārka-tārakaḥ etc.). The inscriptions further state that the gift land was not to be entered by cāṭas and bhaṭas (a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśena), that it was to be free from all obstructions (sarva-bādhā-parihāreṇa) and was made tax-free (a-karatvena).

The Ādi-Bhañja grants

Six Ādi-Bhañja inscriptions record endowments of land in favour of Brāhmaṇas. The grants consisted of the following:

1. (No. 1) Vṛ(Bṛ)hat-Sārāi grāma in Urtti viṣaya in Khijjiṅga. The same plate records Raṇabhañja's grant of Svalpa-Sarāyī grāma in Uratti viṣaya (evidently the same as the Urtti viṣaya of the main grant) to another donee.

Urtti has been identified with Urti village in the old Keonjhar state (now Kendujhar district), about ten miles north-west of Khiching, on the right bank of the Vaitarani river.[188] Sorai village near Urti may represent one or both of the villages mentioned in the inscription.[189]

2. (No. 2) Śarapadraka grāma in Kerakera viṣaya. The same plate records Raṇabhañja's grant of a village, the name of which may be Pāḍeva.

Kerakera has been identified with the modern village of that name in Ghoshdapir in Adipur pargana, about twelve miles south-south-east of Khiching.[190] Śarapadraka may be identified either with Soras village near Kerakera or with Saradaha village in Karanjia pargana.[191]

3. (No. 5) Mok[u]ga grāma in Phaṁsarā viṣaya.
4. (No. 6) Gaṇḍa grāma in Pigaṇḍa bhoga in Khijiṅga maṇḍala.
5. (No. 7) Syallāmayi / LLāmayī grāma in Urtti viṣaya.

[187]The meaning of some other words mentioned in this inscription in connection with the boundaries is not clear.

[188]Majumdar, [284], p. 154.

[189]Majumdar, [284], p. 154.

[190]Majumdar, [284], p. 158.

[191]Majumdar, [284], p. 158.

6. (No. 8) Bonulā grāma in Uttara-khaṇḍa in Sidhāhimbā viṣaya.

None of the inscriptions specify the boundaries of the gifted land.

It may be noted that the gifted villages mentioned in inscriptions no. 1 (either two adjacent villages or two parts of the same village) and no. 7 were located in Urtti viṣaya.

Most of the Ādi-Bhañja grants refer to very few privileges and exemptions bestowed on the gifted land (there are no terms at all in nos. 6 and 8). In some inscriptions, the land is stated to have been made tax-free (a-karatvena) and is said to have been granted along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala), along with bushes and creepers (sa-viṭapa-latā). One of the Adipur plates of Narendrabhañja (no. 2) contains the largest number of technical terms among this set of inscripitons indicating the privileges and exemptions that the gift land was to enjoy. In this inscription, the land is said to have been granted along with the dues known as the uparikara (s-oparikara), along with the space above the ground (s-oddeśa), and along with weavers, cowherds, brewers, and other subjects (sa-tantravāya-gokuṭa-śauṇḍik-ādikaṁ prākṛtika). It was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-varjita), was inalienable (a-lekhanī-praveśatayā),[192] and was granted according to the bhūmicchidr-āpidhāna-nyāya.[193] It is also stated to have been made tax-free according to the law of non-transferability governing permanent endowments (akṣaya-nīvi-dharma).

The Jurāḍā grant of Neṭṭabhañja

The endowment recorded in the Jurāḍā grant of Neṭṭabhañja consisted of Jurāḍā grāma in Gaḍa viṣaya in Khiñjali-maṇḍala.

The Jurāḍā grant specifies quite a few exemptions and privileges that were bestowed on the gift land. The land is said to have been granted along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala), along with bushes and creepers (sa-viṭapa-latā), along with inhabited area and forests (sa-padr-āraṇya), along with mango and madhu (madhūka ?) trees (s-āmra-madhu), and along with fish and water (sa-mīna-toya). It was not to be entered by cāṭas and bhaṭas (a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa), was exempt from future taxes (bhaviṣyat-kara-rahita), and was granted in perpetuity (candr-ārka-paryantam) according to the bhīmicchidr-āpidhāna-nyāya.[194]

The Jurāḍā plates apparently record a kara-śāsana. The annual sum levied on the village was fixed at four palas of silver, while an additional

[192]See *supra*, p. 219, and n. 177.
[193]See *supra*, p. 219, and n. 177.
[194]See *supra*, p. 219, and n. 177.

four palas were to be paid as khaṇḍapāla-muṇḍamola.[195] The khaṇḍapāla-muṇḍamola was perhaps a tax that had to be paid to the officer in charge of the territorial unit known as the khaṇḍa.[196]

The grants of the Bhañjas of Baudh

Both inscriptions of the Bhañjas of Baudh record endowments made to Brāhmaṇas. The land gifted was as follows:

1. (No. 1) Nayaḍā grāma in Khatyā viṣaya in Gandharavāḍi.

Khatyā has been identified with Kaintragarh in the old Athamallik state, on the banks of the Mahanadi, and Gandharavāḍi with Goehhabari in the old Baudh State.[197]

2. (No. 2) Jamarāpura and Sihipura, two pāṭakas (villages) in Vāghulākhaṇḍaka; the villages were named together as Dharmmapura.

Jamarāpura has been tentatively identified with Jampadar near Narla in Kalahandi district.[198]

Both the inscriptions of the Bhañjas of Baudh specify the boundaries of the gifted land. Those of Nayaḍā village included various rocks, the boundary of Tuṇḍaridhiṅga, and half the bank of the Mahānadī river. The boundaries of Jamarāpura and Sihipura included a rock at Maddhavapura/Māharapura grāma, a rock at Koyāsiṁha/Kopāsiṁyā grāma, and the Tela river (which may be identified with the modern Tel river). Koyāsiṁha has been identified with Kesinga on the banks of the Tel, in Kalahandi district.[199]

The plates of Saloṇabhañja (no. 1) state that the gifted land was to be free from all oppressions (sarv-opadrava-varjitam), that it was granted along with right to hidden treasures and deposits (sa-nidhy-upanidhiś=ca), and along with all the other items that may be produced on the land (s-opajāt-ānya-vastukam). The inscription contains an additional stipulation that seems to mean that the donee was to present every year to the king a pair of garments as a token of respect.[200] The plates of Kanakabhañja state

[195]"Rājaki(kīya)-pratya(yā)ya(yo) rūpya-pla. 4. khaṇḍapāla-muṇḍamola-rūpya pla 4." (Sircar, [516], p. 7).

[196]Sircar, [516], p. 8. It may be mentioned that the term 'khaṇḍapāla' appears in the list of officers informed of the grant in the Sonepur/Kelga plates of Somavaṁśī Kumāra Someśvara (no. 30), and in the Antirigam plates of Yaśabhañja and Jayabhañja, the Bhañja kings of Kolāḍa (nos. 1 and 2). The grant of Jayabhañja gives the names of the officers as well; the name of the khaṇḍapāla seems to have been Purañjaya.

[197]Panigrahi, [355], p. 277.

[198]Rajaguru and Tripathy, [406], p. 18.

[199]Rajaguru and Tripathy, [406], p. 18.

[200]"Prati-samvatsaraṁ deyaṁ nṛpa-vandāpan-ārthakaṁ(m). grām-ādhipatinā vāso-yugam =ekaṁ nṛpe=paraṁ(m)..." (Panigrahi, [355], p. 278, ll. 18-19). Panigrahi points to the

that the land was granted along with water, land, and fish (sa-jala-sthala-matsyam),[201] along with madhūka and mango trees (madhuk-āmra-vane syī ?), and was to be free from all oppressions (sarv-opadrava-varjita).

The grants of the Bhañjas of Kolāḍa

The land endowed by the Bhañjas of Kolāḍa in favour of Brāhmaṇas consisted of the following villages:

1. (No.1) Komyāṇa grāma in Voḍā viṣaya.

Komyāṇa has been identified with Konomona in Chatrapura taluk of Ganjam district.[202] Voḍā has been identified with Bodda Patti, three miles from Konomona, in Chatrapur taluk.[203]

2. (No. 2) Reṅgaraḍā grāma in Khiñjalīyag[a]ḍa viṣaya.

It has been suggested that Khiñjalīyagaḍa viṣaya signifies the viṣaya adjoining the fort of Khiñjali.[204]

The grants of the Bhañjas of Kolāḍa contain a comparatively long list of exemptions and privileges. The village mentioned in the Antirigam plates of Yaśabhañja (no. 1) was endowed along with the space above the ground (s-oddeśa); along with trees, creepers, etc. (aneka-vṛkṣa-lat-ādi-sameta); along with bushes and forests (sa-viṭap-āraṇya); along with water, land, fish, and tortoises (sa-jala-sthala-matsya-kacchapa); along with water and cultivated fields (sa-jala-kṣetra-bhūmi); along with all the taxes such as the bhāga, bhoga, and hiraṇya (sakala-bhāga-bhoga-hiraṇy-ādi-pratyāya-sameta). The village was not to be entered by the cāṭas and bhaṭas (a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa). The endowment was made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam), and was declared tax-free (a-karatvena). The land gifted by the plates of Jayabhañja was given to the donee along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala), (s-odvelam) (?), along with the right to hidden treasures and deposits (sa-nidhi-s-opanidhi), along with bushes and forests (sa-viṭap-āraṇya), and along with the entire produce of grain (sarva-sasy-otpatti-sahitam). The land was not to be entered by cāṭas and bhaṭas and was to be free from all oppressions (sarv-opadrava-vivarjitam). It was declared tax-free (a-karīkṛtya).

comparatively modern custom prevalent in the Orissa Feudatory States, whereby Brāhmaṇas holding tax-free land under a copperplate charter presented the ruler with one rupee, a coconut, and a sacred thread.

[201]It may be noted that the land in question was on the banks of a river.

[202]Hiralal, [187], p. 302.

[203]Hiralal, [187], p. 302.

[204]Rath, [427], p. 42. According to Rath, Khiñjali was the old name of Gumsur.

The Bonai grant of Udayavarāha

The endowment made by Udayavarāha in favour of two Brāhmaṇa donees consisted of Koṁdāsamā grāma attached to Kokelā viṣaya in Talāi maṇḍala. Its boundaries included Koṇḍa, Tritamālaṁkasa, the Supadra forest, and Tālagacha. The endowment was made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārkam), and included the rights over the outposts situated in the village, landing or bathing places, and ferries, etc. (sa-kheṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadi-tara-sthān-ādi-gulmaka). It was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-varjita), and was inalienable (a-lekhanī-praveśita).

The Śulkī grants

All ten inscriptions of the Śulkīs record royal endowments to Brāhmaṇas. The land gifted was as follows:

1. (No. 1) A village, the name of which has been variously read as Kolapoṅka, Tyalyaketu near Travarnitata, and Kolāmpaka.

Kolāmpaka has been identified with Kolambi (23°N; 83°41'E).[205]

2. (No. 2) Land in the south-east part of Jārā grāma in Jārā-khaṇḍa.

Jārā has been tentativley identified with Jali (21°53'N; 85°44'E).[206]

3. (No. 3) Siṅga grāma in Paścima-khaṇḍa of Pū[rvva] viṣaya.

Siṅga has been identified with Singara (20°50'N; 85°8'E).[207]

4. (No. 4) Candrapura grāma in Koṅkula khaṇda in Goillā/Goyila viṣaya.

Candrapur has been identified with Chandpur (20°47'N; 85°23'E), Goyila with Goyilu (20°45'N; 85°29'E), and Koṅkula with Kankulu (20°47'N; 85°17'E).[208]

5. (No. 5) Llolapura /Lloṇapura grāma in Kodālā maṇḍala.

Lolapura has been identified with Lonipara (20°53'N; 84°56'E).[209]

6. (No. 6) Kameśirsa grāma in Tagakula-khaṇḍa.

7. (No. 7) Jharabāḍa/Jharavāḍa grāma in Goyillo-khaṇḍa.

Jharabāḍa has been identified with Jharaveda (21°11'N; 85°25'E), and Goyillo with Goyilu (20°45'N; 85°29'E).[210]

8. (No. 8) One or several localities (the reading is not certain) in Sogga (?) grāma in Gapāraśṛṅga viṣaya.

9. (No. 9) Kāṅkanira/ Kāṅkavirā grāma in Goulā(lo?)-khaṇḍa.

Kāṅkavirā has been identified with Konkarai (20°58'N; 85°E), and Goulā with Goyilu (20°45'N; 85°28'E).[211]

[205]Misra, [310], p. 30.
[206]Misra, [310], p. 28.
[207]Misra, [310], p. 28.
[208]Misra, [310], p. 28.
[209]Misra, [310], p. 30.
[210]Misra, [310], p. 28.
[211]Misra, [310], p. 28.

10. (No. 10) Paḍāra/Pajār grāma in Goila-khaṇḍa.

Goila has been identified with Goyilu (20°45'N; 85°29'E).[212]

It may be noted that the gift villages in inscription nos. 4, 7, 9, and 10 lay in the same area (Goyila/Golia/ etc.)

Three of the inscriptions specify the boundaries of the gift land, which are as follows:

No. 1: According to Hara Prasad Sastri's reading and interpretation, the boundaries of the gift village were marked by the revenue-paying fruitful lands of Bhaumasmaka, the boundaries of which were settled by the king's father as being to the west of Mvipya, and from the south all round surrounded by Jodāpathana and other lands.[213] According to Banerji-Sastri's reading, the boundaries were Sagdhiyo and Jādā.[214]

No. 2: Cakalika-bhūmi (identified with Chakalia, 21°53'N; 85°39'E);[215] the field or section of the pillar or column makers (?) (stambhakāra-kṣetra); Āhāra; Jaura; Cintābhūmi.

No. 8: Pa[ñca]śasya, Puṇyavṛddhi, Sarvadā...., Sāraṭura, and Kharaṇḍava seem to have been places constituting the boundaries.

The Śulkī endowments are often specifically stated to have been made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-vyavasthayā / yāvac=candr-ārka-tāraka / ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam etc.). The privileges that variously occur in the grants include the following: along with the taxes known as the uparikara (sa-parikara); along with the space above the ground (s-oddeśa); along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala); and along with inhabited area and forests (sa-padr-āraṇya). The Hindol plate of Kulastambha (no. 8) contains the additional stipulation that the land was granted along with the fields (kṣetra-sahitayā). One of the Dhenkanal grants of Jayastambha (no. 4) stipulate that the land was granted along with weavers, cowherds, fishermen, and others (sa-tantravāya-gokuṭa-kaivart-ādi-jana-pramāṇīyam),[216] and the other Dhenkanal grant (no. 6) of the same king that it was gifted along with weavers, cowherds, brewers and other subjects (sa-

[212]Misra, [310], p. 28.

[213]Shastri, [464], pp. 397, ll. 10-14; 399. It may be suggested that 'jodā' could refer to a stream instead of forming part of a place name.

[214]Banerji-Sastri, [40], p. 319, ll. 10-14; 321. [215]Misra, [310], p. 28.

[216]The term 'pramāṇīyam' may suggest that the grant was witnessed by the weavers, cowherds, fishermen, and others. However, this is the only inscription where this word is appended to the standard stipulation. The reference to the fishermen may also be noted.

tantravāya-gokuṭa-śauṇḍik-ādi-sa-prakṛtika). Inscription no. 4 also states that the land was granted along with fishing rights and customs outposts situated in the village, at landing or bathing places, and ferries etc. (matsya-kheṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadi-śulka-sthān-ādi-gulmaka).[217] No. 6 has: matsya-kheṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadi-tara-sthān-ādi-gulmaka (along with fishing rights and outposts situated in the village, at the landing or bathing places, and ferries, etc.).The Hindol plate of Kulastambha (no. 8) contains the interesting statement that the land was granted along with abundant kuśa grass and firewood employed in sacrifices (yajñ-opakaraṇa-pracura-kuśa-samit-sameta). Some of the inscriptions state that the land was to be free from all obstructions (sarva-bādhā-vivarjitena) and was not to be entered by cāṭas and bhaṭas (a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa). The term a-lekhanī-praveśatayā occurs in two of the Dhenkanal grants of Jayastambha (nos. 4 and 6), probably indicating that the land in question was never to become the subject of another document, i.e. was inalienable. The terms akṣaya-nīvi-dharma (the law of the non-transferability governing permanent endowments) occurs in the Talcher plate of Kulastambha alias Raṇastambha (no. 3), while bhūmicchidr-āpidhāna-nyāya[218] occurs in one of the Dhenkanal grants of Jayastambha (no. 6).

Two of the Śulkī grants are kara-śāsanas. The Talcher plate of Kulastambha alias Raṇastambha (no. 3) specifies the tṛṇ-odaka (i.e. tax)[219] to be two palas of silver,[220] even though the conventional phrases referring to the tax-free nature of the endowment are also present. The Puri plate of Kulastambha (no. 10) specifies the rent as ten palas of silver.[221]

The Tuṅga grants

The land endowed by the Tuṅga kings to Brāhmaṇas consisted of the following holdings:

1. (No. 1) Svalpa-Kom[pai]/Svalpakomi grāma in Khem(mbā)i viṣaya.
2. (No. 2) Vāmāitālla grāma in Tuṅkerā viṣaya.

[217]The reference to fishing rights and the appearance of śulka instead of nadi may be noted.

[218]See p. 219, and n. 177.

[219]According to Sircar, [516], p. 6, 'tṛṇ-odaka'—literally 'grass and water'—is a technical term denoting a cess due to the king even when the gift land was said to have been rendered tax-free.

[220]Banerji ([36], p. 158, ll. 27-28) reads "tṛiṇ-odaka rūpya 40 4;" Konow (editorial note, Banerji, [36], n. 13) reads the numerical figures as 40 and 2. Sircar ([516], p. 7) reads "tṛṇodaka rūpya-pla 2."

[221]"... kara-sāsna ru pla 10." (Sircar, [511], p. 169, l. 31).

Tuṅkera has been identified with Tonkour (21°25'N; 85°14'E) in the old Pallahara State.[222]

3. (No. 3) Toro grāma in Veṇḍuṅga viṣaya.

Toro has been identified with Thora-kota (21°20'N; 85°2'E) in Pallahara, and Veṇḍuṅga with Balanga (21°44'N; 84°47'E) in Bona.[223]

4. (No. 4) Koṅjari (Koñjari) grāma in Khemvāi viṣaya.

Koñjari has been identified with Keonjhar (Kendujhar).[224]

5. (No. 5) A piece of land called Lavantaivīya-khaṇḍakṣetra.

The Tuṅga endowments were made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārkam/yāvac=candr-ārka-tārakāt/candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam/yāvat-kṣiti-jala-pavana-hutāśana-grah-eva-kṣit-tārakāt). The Talcher plate of Gayāḍatuṅga (no. 1) refers to the land being granted along hidden treasures and deposits (sa-nidhi s-opanidhi). All but one of the inscriptions state that the gifted land was not to be entered by cāṭas and bhaṭas (a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśya). The Bonai plate of Vinītatuṅga (no. 4) contains a longer list of privileges and exemptions than do the other Tuṅga grants. Here, the land is said to have been granted along with the taxes known as the uparikara (sa-parikara); along with the space above the ground (s-oddeśa); along with weavers, cowherds, brewers, and other subjects (sa-tantravāya-gokuṭa-śauṇḍik-ādi-sa-prakṛtika); and along with the ouposts situated in the village, at landing or bathing places, and ferries, etc. (sa-kheṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadi-tara-sthān-ādi-gulmaka). It was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-varjita) and was not to be made the subject of another document, i.e. was inalienable (a-lekhanī-praveśita). Lines 27-28 of the Khargaprasada plate of Vinītatuṅga (no. 5) have the following term: "dvādaśa-pramāṇy-āvibādhā-vivarjita." While the latter part of the phrase seems to suggest that the endowment was to be free from all obstructions, the meaning of the first part is not clear.

Two of the Tuṅga grants are kara-śāsanas. The Talcher plate of Gayāḍatuṅga (no. 2) states that the tax had been fixed at four palas of silver.[225] The Asiatic Society plate of the same king (no. 3) refers to the land having been constituted into a kara-śāsana, and specifies the rent as being fixed at nine palas of silver.[226]

[222]Misra, [310], p. 40. [223]Misra, [310], p. 40. [224]Misra, [310], p. 40.

[225]"...tṃ-odaka-rupya-pla catvāri aṅke ru pla 4...." (Sircar, [484], p. 100, ll. 32-33).

[226]"... kara-sā(śā)sanaṁ kṛtaḥ ru(rū)pya-pala-navena (read navakena) aṅken=api ru(rū)pya-pla 9 tṃ-o[da*]ka-pūrvakena..." (Sircar, [484], p. 104, ll. 33-34).

The Dhenkanal grant of Jayasiṁha

The land granted in favour of two Brāhmaṇa donees by Jayasiṁha consisted of Kāryāṭi grāma attached to Yamagartta viṣaya. Yamagartta has been identified with Jamagadia (20°30'N; 85°5'E) in Angul or with Jomurdi (21°30'N; 85°14'E) in Pallahara.[227] The endowment is simply stated to have been made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-sama-kālam), nothing further being said about the privileges and exemptions bestowed on the it.

The Nandodbhava grants

The grants made by the Nandodbhava kings in favour of Brāhmaṇa recipients consisted of the following land-holdings:

1. (No. 1) Lamve(mbe)va/Lamve(be)da grāma in Potoḍā viṣaya.

Lambeva has been identified with Limboo (20°28'N; 85°6'E) in the old Narasinghpur State, and Potoḍā with Potala (20°42'N; 86°14'E) in the old Hindol State (now included in Dhenkanal district).[228]

2. (No. 2) Palāmūnā grāma in Kahāśṛṅga viṣaya.

3. (No. 3) Ḍoloṣara grāma in Kaleḍa khaṇḍa in Erāvaṭṭa maṇḍala.

4. (No. 4) Tamvāvarā grāma in Sarāva-khaṇḍa viṣaya.

5. (No. 6) Śilohā/Śiloḍā, a piece of land (khaṇḍakṣetra) in Aitārāstambha-khaṇḍa in Airāvaṭṭa-maṇḍala.

Śilohā or Śiloḍā has been identified with Siridi (20°45'N; 85°9'E) in the old Dhenkanal State (now the name of a district).[229]

The Jurerpur and Narsinghpur plates of Devānandadeva (nos. 2 and 3) do not specify any terms of the grant. In the other inscriptions, the land is said to have been granted along with land and water (sa-jala-sthala / sa-jala-sthala-yoga) and along with pits/trenches and mounds (sa-gartt-āvāskara). The Jayapura or Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadeva (no. 6) have the additional term 'sa-parvat-āraṇya,' indicating that the land had been granted along with hills and forests.

The Hindol grant of Vīra-Pracaṇḍadeva

The grant of Vīra-Pracaṇḍadeva records the grant of Vaḍapāṭi (or Vajrapāṭi) attached to Kurmmadeva viṣaya to three Brāhmaṇas. No privileges or exemptions are specified.

[227]Misra, [310], p. 24. [228]Misra, [310], p. 36. [229]Misra, [310], p. 36.

The Somavaṁśī grants

The endowments made by the Somavaṁśī kings to Brāhmaṇas consisted of the following land holdings:

1. (No. 1) Vakrat[e]ntali grāma in Lupattarā-khaṇḍa.
2. (No. 2) Jambū grāma in Potā viṣaya.

Jambū village has been tentatively identified with Jamgaon, adjacent to Kalibhana, while Potā viṣaya may be the same as Povā viṣaya which has been identified with Pow in the old Sonepur State, nineteen miles south of Binka.[230]

3. (No. 3) Vakaveḍḍa grāma in Oṅgātaṭa viṣaya.
4. (No. 4) Pāsitalā grāma in Potā viṣaya.
5. (No. 5) Satallamā grāma in Kaśaloḍā viṣaya.
6. (No. 6) Ṛṣi grāma in Nimunā viṣaya.
7. (No. 8) Two villages: Raṇḍā and Alāṇḍalā grāma in Povā viṣaya in Kośala deśa.[231]
8. (No. 9) Arki grāma in Tulumva-khaṇḍa in Kośala deśa.
9. (No. 10) Tūleṇḍā/Truleṇḍā grāma (Rajaguru reads Yantralenu/Ntralenu[232]) in Sandānā viṣaya in Kośala-deśa.
10. (No. 11) Konnayillā grāma in Ṭokkārā viṣaya in Kośala-deśa.

Ṭokkārā has been identified with Tukra, about fourteen miles east of Bargarh town.

11. (No. 12) Kuḍukolo khaṇḍakṣetra in Gaṇḍitama viṣaya in Oḍha-deśa (probably to be read as Oḍra-deśa).[233]
12. (No. 13) Some land in the north of Talakajja-grāma, including the Avarīya river, in Sanūlā viṣaya in Kośala desa(śa).

According to Sircar, the river mentioned here may be the Aurag, a feeder of the Mahanadi.[234]

13. (No. 14) Cānda grāma in Maraḍa viṣaya in Dakṣi[ṇa*] Tosalī (Fleet thinks this should be emended to Dakṣiṇa Kosala[235]).

Cānda may be identified with Chandra village in Hariharpur pargana, while Maraḍa viṣaya may be identified with Hariharpur pargana, locally known as Maraḍa Hariharpur.[236]

[230]Sircar and Rath, [543], p. 240.

[231]I.e. Dakṣiṇa Kosala, which comprised the modern Raipur, Bilaspur, and Sambalpur areas.

[232]Rajaguru, [404], 4: 145.

[233]In this period, Oḍra included the large tract of land between Dakṣiṇa Kosala in the west and coastal Orissa in the east (Ganguly, [145], p. 57).

[234]Sircar, [470], p. 118.

[235]Fleet, [129], p. 351, n. 11.

14. (No. 15) Nibinnā grāma (spelt Nibiṇḍā in line 5) in Uttara-pallikā in Ganuḍapāṭa-maṇḍala in Kośala deśa.

Gaṇuḍapāṭa has been tentatively identified with Ghantapara in the old Sonepur State (now included in Bolangir district).[237]

15. (No. 16) Ḍelāḍelī grāma in Telātaṭa viṣaya in Kosala-deśa.

16. (No. 17) Lluttarumā grāma in Telātaṭṭa viṣaya in Ṣaṇavatī.

17. (No. 18) Gauḍasimiṇilli grāma in Sākhaṅgadyanhā viṣaya in Kosala.

18. (No. 19) Liñjira grāma in the vicinity of Pṛthurā bhukti.

Liñjira has been identified with a village of the same name near Baramadela in the old Sarangarh Feudatory State.[238] Pṛthurā has been identified with Pithora in the Padampur tract, about forty-five miles north-west of Sambalpur.[239]

19. (No. 20) Bhillī grāma in Abhapparā-khaṇḍa in Antaruda viṣaya.

Antaruda viṣaya has been identified with Antarodh pargana in Puri district.[240]

20. (No. 21) Two villages: Vṛhadbhūsāyī grāma in Bhrāṇḍa viṣaya in Kośala, and Mārañjaurā grāma in Santovarḍā khaṇḍa in Śambarabāḍi maṇḍala (probably also in Kośala).

21. (No. 22) One village to each of the two donees: Kontalaṇḍā grāma in Saṁsarāva khaṇḍa in Airāvaṭṭa maṇḍala in Oḍri (Oḍra) deśa; and Lovākaraḍā grāma in Saṁsarāva khaṇḍa.

Kontalaṇḍā has been identified with Kantilo in the old Khandapara State, not far from Balijhari (in the old Narsinghpur State), the find-spot of the plates.[241] Airāvaṭṭa has been identified with Ratagarh in Banki, about sixteen miles from Marada, while Lovākaraḍā has been tentatively identified with Marada, about four miles from Kantilo.[242]

22. (No. 24) Loisarā grāma in Giḍāṇḍā maṇḍala.

23. (No. 30) Atteṇḍā grāma in Kesalogā khaṇḍa in Uttaravalli viṣaya.

24. (No. 31) Gudhuvamāla khaṇḍakṣetra and Kahapura khaṇḍakṣetra in Vurayuḍā grāma in Roṅgaḍā maṇḍala, as well as Paviśa grāma.

It may be noted that the land of inscription nos. 2 and 4 lay in Potā viṣaya, while that of nos. 16 and 17 lay in Telātaṭa / Telātaṭṭa viṣaya.

It may also be pointed out that the donee of inscription nos. 8, 9, and 10 was the same (Sādhāraṇa, a Brāhmaṇa minister of the king), as was the donee of inscription nos. 16 and17. Further, Ābhābhakaraśra(śa)rmman,

[236]Banerjea, [15], p. 150.
[237]Mazumdar, [295], p. 96, n. 5.
[238]Pandeya, [349], p. 136.
[239]Pandeya, [349], p.136.
[240]Misra, [310], p. 16.

the donee of the Stray plate found at Sonepur (no. 31) was the son of Udayakarasa(śa)mma(rmma)n, the donee of the Sonpur plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva (no. 3). This indicates the expansion of the landed estates of these Brāhmaṇa families.

The grants of the Somavaṁśī kings usually specify a large number of privileges and exemptions, several of which are not encountered in the grants of other dynasties. The land is generally said to have been granted up to its four boundaries (catuḥ-sīmā-paryanta); along with hidden treasures and deposits (sa-nidhiḥ s-opanidhiḥ); along with pits and barren tracts (sa-gartt-ośara); along with mango and madhūka trees (s-āmra-madhūka); along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala); and along with the dues known as the uparikara (sarv-oparikar-ādāna-sahita). It is, further, stated that the land was to be free from all obstructions (sarva-bādhā-vivarjita) and was not to be entered by the cāṭas and bhaṭas (pratiniṣiddha-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa/ a cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa). The land was said to have been made tax-free by means of a copperplate charter (tāmra-śāsanen-ākarīkṛtya) and to have been granted in perpetuity (ā-candra-tārak-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kāl-opabhog-ārtham). The residents of the gifted land were told to live happily, rendering to the donees all the dues such as the bhoga, bhāga, kara, and hiraṇya.

Some of the Somavaṁśī inscriptions contain certain additional terms referring to aspects of the flora and fauna over which the donees were given certain rights. Thus, the Cuttack Museum plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 14) state that the land was granted along with palm and other trees (tāl-ādi-taru-saṁyuta). The Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (no. 21) grant the land along with the bushes or outposts of the viṣaya (sa-gūḍa-viṣaya; probably should be read as sa-gulma-viṣaya), and along with the paṅkāla (sa-paṅkāla).[243] The Narasinghpur plates of Udyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta (no. 22) state that the land was gifted along with half the bank of the Mahānadī (Mahānadī-ardha srotaḥ sameta) and along with sīsu, madhūka, tāla, and other trees (sīsu-madhūka-tāla-nānā-vṛkṣa). The Kudopali plates of the time of Mahābhavagupta (no. 24) state that the land was granted together with bushes and forests (sa-viṭap-āraṇya). The Sonpur plates of Kumāra Someśvara (no. 30) grant the land along, among other things, with fish and tortoises (sa-matsya-kacchapa), along with bushes and forests (sa-viṭap-āraṇya), and along with mango and

[241]Misra, [316], p. 4.

[242]Misra, [316], p. 4.

[243]The meaning of 'sa-paṅkāla' is not clear. It may have something to do with paṅka, which means mud, dirt, clay, etc. (*SED*, p. 574); or the reading may be 'paṅkāra,' which in

madhūka forests (s-āmra-madhu-van-ākīrṇa). The stray plate found at Sonepur (no. 31) contains the following terms: along with fish and tortoises (sa-matsya-kacchapa); together with village and bushes or bushes of the village (sa-kheṭa-viṭapa); together with low and high lands (sa-khalla-onnata);[244] along with inhabited area and forests (sa-padr-āraṇyaka); along with bushes and creepers (sa-gulma-latāka); along with mango and madhūka trees (s-āmra-madhūka); along with tamarind trees (sa-tantalika); along with palm trees (sa-tālaka); and along with various trees (nānā-vṛkṣa-sameta). The land is also said to have been granted along with hidden treasures and deposits, elephants' teeth (ivory), tiger-skins, and various wild animals (nidhy-upanidhi-hastidanta-vyāghra-carma-nānā-vanacara-sameta), suggesting that the gifted land was situated in or close to a forested area inhabited with wild-life.

The term 'sa-pratihāra' occurs in the Khandpara plates of Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha and the Narasinghpur plates of Udyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta (nos. 20 and 22). It has been suggested that it means 'together with the tax of for the maintenance of the city-gates.'[245]

The term 'sa-daś-āparādha' occurs in several inscriptions (nos. 2, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21). It seems to have referred to the right to adjudicate or collect fines for certain offences.

Four Somavaṁśī inscriptions refer to a series of taxes, the exact meaning of all of which is not certain.[246] Thus, lines 31-32 of the Khandpara plates of Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha (no. 20) contain the following passage: "andhāruvā padāti jīvya hastidaṇḍa varalīvardda cihol adatt ādi sahita." The Narasinghpur plates of Udyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta (no. 22) contain the following passage: "hastidanta-varavalāvanda coṭāla andhāruva pratyandhāruvā ādattā padātijīva ahidaṇḍa antarābaḍḍi vandhadaṇḍa vijayavandāpanā mārggaṇika prabhṛti bhaviṣyat-kara sahitaḥ" (lines 39-42). Lines 38-40 of the Ratnagiri plates of Karṇa (no. 28) refer to the following terms: hastidaṇḍa, vara-balīvardda, ciṭṭola, andhāruā, pratyandhāruā, adatṭā, padāti-jīvya, antarāvaḍḍi, rintakāvaḍḍi, vasāvakī, viṣayālī, ahi-daṇḍa, hala-daṇḍa, bandha-daṇḍa, vandāpanā, vijayavandāpanā, and khaṇḍapāla. The following three terms also occur: nānā-mārggaṇī-sameta, bhaviṣyat-kara-sameta, and sa-khaṇḍapālīya. The Sonpur plates of Kumāra Someśvara (30) contain the following passage: "suvarṇṇa-daṇḍa-ahidaṇḍa-vartmadaṇḍa-vandāpanā-vijayavandāpanā-tṛṇ-odaka-

certain lexicons, means dam or dyke (*SED*, 574).

[244]According to Sircar, [486], p. 399, 'khalla' is derived from the Oriya 'khāl,' meaning low-land.

[245]Sircar, [486], p. 401.

śāsan-ārddhika-cara-balivarda-ārthāruvā-pratyarthāruvā-padātijīvya-ādatta-āturāvaḍḍi-bhaviṣyat-kar-ādi-sametaḥ" (lines 16-19). These plates also contain the terms "go-gauḍa-sameta" and "sa-khaṇḍapālīya."[247]

D.C. Sircar has offered the following meanings of some of these fiscal terms: suvarṇadaṇḍa—a tax payable by professional goldsmiths; ahi-daṇḍa—a tax payable for the maintenance of snake-charmers; vandāpanā—an offering payable on the occasion of visiting the king; vijaya-vandāpanā—the offering payable on the king's return from a victorious military campaign; śāsanārdhika—an additional share of the produce payable by tenants cultivating rent-free lands; varabalīvarda—a tax on prize bullocks; padātijīvya—a tax for the maintenance of paiks; go-gauḍa– -literally 'cow and cowherd,' a grazing tax or a tax on cowherds; hastidaṇḍa—a tax payable for the possession of elephants; bandhadaṇḍa—a ransom payable in lieu of imprisonment; pratīhāra—a tax for entry into the royal palace or the maintenance of the pratīhārīs; arthāruvā and pratyarthāruvā—dues paid by money-lenders for the amounts loaned and those realized with interest; āturāvaḍḍi—a levy for the treatment of the king in sickness; coṭāla—perhaps the same as ciṭolā, the meaning of which is not clear; ādattā—interest or fine on the arrears of taxes.[248] Hala-daṇḍa may refer to a tax on ploughs.[249] Mārgaṇika or mārgaṇaka has been tentatively connected with the word 'mārgaṇa,' 'beggar,' and may have been an impost of a general character levied on villages.[250]

Two of the Somavaṁśī grants to Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries are kara-śāsanas. These are the two sets of Patna plates of Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta (nos. 3, 4) which specify the annual tax as eight and five palas of silver respectively.[251]

South and North Orissa

The grants of the imperial Gaṅgas and their feudatories: (inscription nos. 41- 77)

The following !and-holdings were granted by the imperial Gaṅga kings and their feudatories to Brāhmaṇa recipients:

1. (No. 53) Tāmaraceru grāma along with Cikhalī-vāṭaka.

(This very village was granted to certain Brāhmaṇas by the Chicacole

[246]The orthography of these terms is left here as it appears in the inscriptions.

[247]On khaṇḍapāla, see *supra*, p. 225, and n. 196.

[248]Sircar, [487], pp. 402-3.

[249]Mitra, [322], p. 264.

[250]Ghoshal, [165], p. 317.

[251]"... prativarṣa-dātavya-ru(rū)pyak-āṣṭa-pala-kala-dāna(ṁ*) viniścitya...." (Sircar, [516] p. 8), "... prativarṣe c=ātra śāsane kara-pañca-rūpya-plāni niṣṭaṅkya kara-śāsanam=idaṁ

plates of Indravarman, Gaṅga (no. 10), and to five hundred Brāhmaṇas by the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman (no. 31).)

2. (No. 57) Koḍila grāma in Varāhavarttanī. (The donees were three hundred Brāhmaṇas).

Koḍila has been identified with Kodisa, about two miles from Galavalli, the find-spot of the plates.

3. (No. 58) Bṛhatkoḍila grāma along with Bhinnāla vāṭaka, in Varāhavarttanī.

Bṛhatkoḍila was probably situated near Koḍila grāma of inscription no. 57.

4. (No. 62) Khonna grāma in Varāhavarttanī.

Khonna has been identfied with Korni, the find-spot of the plates.

5. (No. 65) These plates seem to record the additional grant (to the three hundred Brāhmaṇa donees who had received Khonna grāma by a previous grant made by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga) of land measuring eighty-eight units taken from Tūlubu grāma as well as some land from Gārā village.

The boundaries of the gifted land are indicated in two of the above-mentioned inscriptions, and were as follows:

> No. 62: The trikūṭa of Khonna, Ḍomvaravalli and Toneṅgi villages; the crooked trench (garttā) of Toneṅgi village; various rows of marīca trees; a marīca trees with an ant-hill, including one at the trikūṭa of Khonna, Toneṅgi and Khollera villages; a big ant-hill; a row of forest-trees; a small well (tanu-vāpikā) and a trench at the trikūṭa of Khonna, Kollera and Tūlubu villages; a trench; the trench at the trikūṭa of Khonna, Tuluvu and Gāra villages; the trench at the trikūṭa of Khonna Gāra, Ḍombaravelli, and Toneṅgi.[252]
>
> No. 65: The boundaries include the Toneṅgi-grāma trench at the trikūṭa of Khonna, Omvaravelli, and Toneṅgi; ant-hills; marīca trees; a row of trees; an ant-hill and a marīca tree at the trikūṭa of Khonna, Tonneṅgi, and Khollira; a row of forest-trees; trenches; rocks, many located at various trikūṭas; the mouth of a trench entering the tank (taṭāka); the boundary (sandhi) of the embankments (setu) of two tanks (taṭāka).

It may be noted that the mention of the same villages among the boundaries of nos. 62 and 65 indicates that the villages gifted by these charters were in the same vicinity.

dattaṁ yatra rū pla 5 ..."—Laskar, [262], p. 13, ll. 45-46.

The land is generally stated to have been granted in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-sama-kālaṁ yāvat / ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālaṁ yāvat), along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala); it was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-vivarjita), and was not to be entered by cāṭas and bhaṭas (a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa). The cultivators were to render to the donees all dues such as the bhāga, bhoga, etc. The Chicacole plates of Rājarāja I (no. 58) contains the expression 'grāma-grāsaṁ kṛtvā.'[253] Sircar suggests that the absence of any reference in the inscription to the land being made revenue free and the use of the term 'grāma-grāsa' instead of 'agrahāra' to describe the holding may indicate that the donees were to pay some rent.[254] It may be noted that none of the inscriptions mentioned above specifically state that the endowment was rendered tax-free.

Summary

Brahmadeya grants in ancient and early medieval Orissa consisted of one or more villages or one or several plots of land in one or more than one village. In Period I (fourth to seventh century), out of the sixty-two grants to Brāhmaṇas examined, fifty-one consisted of grants of single villages, four of more than one village, and seven of one or more plots of land. In the case of the gift of pieces of land within villages, the dimensions of the granted area are in most cases specified. The land measure terms used are hala (including one reference to a hala of land measured by the rod used for brahmadeyas in the imperial Gaṅga inscription no. 13), timpira, hasta, droṇa, droṇavāpa, and nivartana.

In Period II (seventh to tenth century), of the fifty-eight Brāhmaṇa grants examined, forty-three were grants of single villages (including four grants of one village along with some additional land), one of more than one village, and fourteen of a piece or several pieces of land within one or more villages. The pieces of land are sometimes referred to as khaṇḍakṣetras, and some of the inscriptions specify the area gifted, the land measure terms used being timpīra (also spelt timmira, ṭimpīra, timpira), muraja, nala, hala, and māla. The Chicacole plates of the Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga king Vajrahasta (no. 40) refer to the produce of the gift land as being 101 standard measures of paddy. This is the only instance in the inscriptions of Orissa of the specification of the volume of produce of the gifted land.

In Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century), of the eighty-nine grants to Brāhmaṇas examined, sixty-seven consisted of grants of one village

[252]It may be noted that 'trikūṭa' consistently refers to three villages in this inscription.
[253]Narayana Rao and Subba Rao, [336], p. 180, l. 2.

(including one of one village and some additional land), ten of more than one village, and eleven of one or more pieces of land (referred to often as khaṇḍakṣetras) within one or more villages. The dimensions of the pieces of land are not indicated in any of the inscriptions of this period.

An examination of the details of the location of the gifted land and of its boundaries (in cases where this is provided) gives evidence from all three Periods of the contiguity or at least the close proximity of some of the brahmadeya settlements.

As far as the detailed specification of the boundaries of the land gifted to Brāhmaṇas is concerned, in Period I there are only six instances (out of total of sixty-two grants to Brāhmaṇas). In Period II, the number of inscriptions specifying the boundaries of the gift land rises to twenty-seven (out of total of fifty-eight grants to Brāhmaṇas). In Period III, the number is eleven (out of a total of eighty-nine grants to Brāhmaṇas). The specification of boundaries occurs most regularly in the royal grants of the Śvetaka Gaṅga and Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga kings. The boundaries were usually indicated by land-marks such as trees, rocks, ant-hills, trenches, rivers, hills, embankments, tanks, wells, the boundaries of adjoining villages, and the junctions of several villages.

Throughout the period under review, the land gifted to Brāhmaṇas was described as having been granted in perpetuity. A few inscriptions explicitly lay down the hereditary nature of the endowment. The permanent and inalienable nature of the endowment was also indicated by the statement made in some of the inscriptions of all three periods that the grant had been made according to the law governing permanent endowments (akṣaya-nīvi-dharma), or in the statement that appears from about the eighth century onwards that the land was not to become the subject of another document (a-lekhanī-praveśatayā).

In most (not all) cases, the endowments were declared exempt from paying taxes to the state, the residents often being exhorted to obey the donees and to render to them the appropriate dues. The Jurāḍā grant of Neṭṭabhañja and two Somavaṁśī grants—the Ratnagiri plates of Karṇa (no. 28) and the Sonpur plates of Kumāra Someśvara (no. 30) state that the endowment was granted along with future taxes, i.e was exempt from all future state taxes. Thus, in most cases, the royal grants to Brāhmaṇas involved a permanent renunciation of the state's revenue claim over the brahmadeya land. In this context, the references to brahmadeya villages being constituted into separate sections, presumably because of their distinct fiscal status, is noteworthy. The right to levy and collect taxes was bestowed by royal decree on the Brāhmaṇa benficiaries.

An examination of the epigraphic evidence from Orissa indicates, however, that not all endowments of land made by kings to Brāhmaṇas were tax-free. There are two clear instances of kara-śāsanas among the inscriptions of Period I, four among the inscriptions of Period II, and seven (or perhaps eight, if no. 58 is included) among the inscriptions of Period III. The evidence of the Bobbili plates of Pitṛbhakta Caṇḍavarman and the Siripuram plates of Vāsiṣṭha Anantavarman provide further evidence of tax-paying agrahāras. The absence of any specific reference to the tax-free status of the endowments in the grants of the imperial Gaṅgas (and the occurrence of the phrase 'grāma-grāsam=kṛtvā' in no. 58) may suggest that the brahmadeya settlements created by these kings were not, in fact, tax-free. While the evidence of the kara-śāsanas indicates the existence of at least two major categories of brahmadeya settlements, the one exempt from all state revenue claims, the other that remained subject to the payment of what was perhaps a nominal tax, the overwhelming majority of the brahmadeyas fell into the former category.

Apart from the revenue exemptions enjoyed by most brahmadeyas, the list of exemptions associated with these endowments usually included a guarantee of the non-intervention of the cāṭas and bhaṭas, the regular and irregular soldiery. The Srungavarapukota plates of the Vāsiṣṭha king Anantavarman contain the stipulation that the gift village was not to be disturbed by the royal functionaries known as the vallabhas and durllabhas. The Indian Museum plates of the Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga king Devendravarman stipulate that the donee was not to be obstructed or disturbed by future kings, royal officers, cāṭas and bhaṭas, the officers known as the daṇḍapāśikas and others.

These stipulations seem to be related to a statement that appears regularly in the inscriptions throughout the period under review—that the gifted land was to be free from all oppressions or obstructions. The nature of these oppressions or obstructions is not specified. However it seems likely that they included things such as unjust or excessive revenue demands, forced labour, forced loans, the billetting of troops, harassment by the soldiery in the course of military campaigns, and the provision of goods and services to royal officers and members of the royal family. The exemption from the obligation of providing conveyance to royal officers on tour in the Kesaribeda plates of the Nala king Arthapati can also be mentioned in this context.

The brahmadeya settlements thus appear to have been, in most cases, settlements that were for all practical purposes free from any kind of state intervention. The exemptions to this effect were accompanied by a series

of privileges awarded to the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries. These were not confined to revenue rights; they also included comprehensive rights over the natural resources of the land. The statement that appears in some of the inscriptions from about the eighth century onwards—that the grant was made according to the bhūmicchidra-nyāya—seems to have had the purport of emphasizing the donees' comprehensive and permanent rights over the land granted to them.

Apart from the general statement that occurs in several inscriptions that the holding was granted along with water and land, more specific references to water resources occur in the description of the boundaries of the gift land as well as, in some cases, in the context of the privileges bestowed on the settlement. Among the various types of water resources mentioned, rivers and tanks are the most prominent, while wells are mentioned in a few inscriptions. Some of the villages appear to have included more than one tank. A few Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga inscriptions—the Achyutapuram plates of Indravarman (no. 5), the Tekkali plates of Indravarman (no. 13) and the Siddhantam plates of the Gaṅga Devendravarman (no. 17)—guarantee the donee's access to water resources. Two other inscriptions of kings of the same dynasty—the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman and the Kalahandi plates of Vajrahasta (nos. 33 and 35), specifically include a tank in the land granted to the Brāhmaṇa donees. A few inscriptions, such as the Indian Museum plates of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman (no. 11) and the Narasinghpur plates of Somavaṁśī Udyotakeśarī (no. 22) state that the land had been gifted along with half the bank of the rivers on the margins of which the gifted land apparently lay.

The description of the boundaries and some of the terms of the inscriptions in some cases suggest that that the brahmadeya settlements lay in proximity to forests, rights over which were often transferred to the Brāhmaṇa donees. Forests or forest trees are mentioned among the boundaries of the following inscriptions: the Nivina plates of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja (no. 10); the Gautami plates of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman (no. 13); and six Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga grants — the Sudava plates of Anantavarman (no. 18), the Andhavaram plates of Anantavarman (no. 19), the Alamanda plates of Anantavarman (no. 22), the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman (no. 31), the Chidivalasa plates of Devendravarman (no. 38), and the Napitavataka plates of Devendravarman (no. 39). Four Śvetaka Gaṅga grants state that the land has been granted along with water, land, and forests (sa-jala-sthal-āraṇya). The Ganjam plates of Dāṇārṇavadeva (no. 15), a king of this same dynasty, describes the land as granted along with the inhabited area and forests (sa-

padr-āraṇya), and along with forests and bushes (s-āṭavī-viṭapa-samanvita). The term sa-padr-āraṇya occurs in the Jurāḍā grant of Neṭṭabhañja, in the Dhenkanal plate of Śulkī Kulastambha (no. 7), and in the stray Somavaṁśī plate found at Sonepur (no. 31). This term may have permitted the possibility of the expansion of the donees' estate into adjacent uncultivated forest area. The Jayapura or Talmul plate of the Nandodbhava king Dhruvānandadeva (no. 6) indicates that the land in question had been granted along with hills and forests (sa-parvat-āraṇya). The Kudopali plates of the time of Somavaṁśī Mahābhavagupta (no. 24) grant the land along with bushes and forests (sa-viṭap-āraṇya). The stray Somavaṁśī plate found at Sonepur (no. 31) granted the donees rights over the wild-life of the forest and its proceeds (elephants' teeth, tiger-skins, and various animals).

The occurrence of the term 'sa-padr-āraṇya' in certain inscriptions is significant because it meant that the donees were given rights over the habitational area of the brahmadeya settlements. In a similar vein, the Santa-Bomvali grant of the Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga king Nandavarman (no. 20) contains the term 'niveśana-sahita'—together with the habitation.

While most of the land grant charters of Orissa bestowed certain revenue rights and rights over natural resources on the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries, several Pāṇḍuvaṁśī and Somavaṁśī grants seem to refer, in addition, to the award of certain judicial rights (sa-daś-āparādha). This was the right to adjudicate in certain matters or the right to collect the proceeds of fines levied for such offences (or both). On the other hand, there are the two Pāṇḍuvaṁśī inscriptions that specifically state that the donees did not have the right to punish thieves. In general, however, the royal grants of Orissa do not specify any rights reserved by the state over the gifted land.

From the ninth or tenth century, epigraphic evidence indicates in some cases an increase in the control of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries over sources of revenue other than those based on land. Grants of the Bhauma-Karas, Udayavarāha, the Śulkīs, and the Tuṅgas give the donees control over outposts situated in the village, landing or bathing places, and ferries (sa-kheṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadi-tara-sthān-ādi-gulmaka). This stipulation seems to have had fiscal implications, although it has been suggested that it refers to control over military outposts.[255]

Among the inscriptions of ancient and early medieval Orissa, the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī and Somavaṁśī grants contain the longest list of taxes which the donees were given the right to collect from the inhabitants of their

[254]Sircar, [530], pp. 193-94.
[255]Sharma, [458], p. 283.

brahmadeya villages. It is not certain whether this indicates a larger number of taxes levied by these kings or a larger number of fiscal exemptions and privileges granted to the donees. From the ninth or tenth century, some of the inscriptions of the Bhauma-Karas, Ādi-Bhañjas, Śulkīs, and Tuṅgas give the donees rights over the inhabitants of the village such as weavers, cowherds, brewers, and fishermen (sa-tantravāya-gokuṭa-śauṇḍik-ādi-prakṛtika). This reflected a significant enlargement of the scope of the rights granted to the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries.

Chapter V

Royal Endowments to Religious Establishments

The majority of royal endowments of land in ancient and early medieval Orissa were made in favour of Brāhmaṇas. A few grants, however, were made to Buddhist and Jaina establishments, temples, and maṭhas (monasteries). The discussion that follows begins with a brief account of Buddhism, Jainism, Śaivism, Śāktism, and Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa (and the contiguous areas of Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh) up to the middle of the twelfth century AD. This is followed by a presentation of the epigraphic data on the religious establishments patronized by the kings of ancient and early medieval Orissa.[1] This includes details of the beneficiaries, and the nature and terms of the endowments. Although the focus is on grants made by kings, reference will also be made to records of the building of temples, of or gifts to religious establishments by members of the royal family, feudatories, administrative personnel, and on occasion, by private individuals.

Buddhism in Orissa

There are a few literary references to Orissa in early Buddhist texts. Tapassu and Bhallika, mentioned as the first disciples of the Buddha in the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, and in the *Jātakas*, were merchants of Ukkala (Utkala).[2] Several texts refer to the Vassa and Vañña tribes of Ukkala repudiating their earlier beliefs and recognizing the teachings of the Buddha.[3] The *Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka* gives an account of

[1]The epigraphic sources used for this study do not include the numerous imperial Gaṅga inscriptions found within the precincts of various temples in Andhra Pradesh such as those at Mukhalingam, Draksarama, and Srikurmam. These inscriptions are in Telugu or a mixture of Telugu and Sanskrit. Many of them have been published in various volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions*, and also in Rajaguru, [404], 3, pts. 1 & 2, where the text of the records is given in the Devanagari script.

[2]*Vinaya Piṭaka* 1. 3 ff.; *Aṅguttara Nikāya* 1. 26; *Udāna* Commentary 54; *Jātaka* 1. 80; *Thera Gāthā* Commentary 1. 48. Cited by Sahu, [437], p. 9.

[3]*Majjhima Nikāya* 3. 78; *Aṅguttara Nikāya* 2. 31; *Saṁyutta Nikāya* 3. 73; *Kathā Vatthu* 1. 141. Cited by Sahu, [437], p. 8.

three generations of kings named Kaliṅga of Dantapura.[4] And according to a tradition preserved in the *Buddhavaṁśa* and *Dāṭhāvaṁśa*, after the Buddha passed away, one of his tooth relics was brought to Kaliṅga and enshrined in a caitya at Dantapura.[5] These references notwithstanding, it was probably after the Aśokan conquest that Buddhism received an impetus in Orissa. In subsequent centuries, Orissa seems to have played an important role in the spread of Buddhism to south-east Asia.[6]

The account of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang suggests that in the seventh century AD, it was Hīnayāna Buddhism that was the predominant form of Buddhism in the Wu-ta country, i.e. Orissa.[7] The Hīnayāna monks of Orissa are described in Hiuen Tsang's account as having presented a treatise composed by Prajñagupta to king Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, and having challenged the Mahāyānists to dispute even one word of it. Harṣavardhana is said to have sent a message to Śīlabhadra, the Chancellor of the Nālandā monastery, requesting him to send to Orissa four learned Mahāyāna monks to take up the Hīnayānists' challenge. Of the four scholars selected by Śīlabhadra for this task, Hiuen Tsang suggests that he was the only one who felt equal to the task, the other three (Sāgaramati, Prajñāraśmi, and Siṁharaśmi) being a little diffident about the venture.[8] Harṣavardhana is also said to have invited the learned Jayasena to take up residence in Orissa, offering to assign to him the revenue of eighty large towns, but the Mahāyāna scholar declined.[9]

Hiuen Tsang does, however, refer to the existence of a hundred Mahāyāna monasteries in Orissa.[10] His account describes a monastery named Pu-sei-po-ki-li (Puṣpagiri), the site of which may be tentatively identified with Udayagiri or Nalitagiri (Lalitagiri).[11] Buddhist literature locates other centres of the Mahāyāna in Orissa at Bhora Śaila (a famous centre of Buddhist logic), Tosalī and Ratnagiri (associated with Buddhist

[4]Cited by Sahu, [437], p. 5.

[5]*Buddhavaṁśa*, 28, 6. Cited by Sahu, ([437], p. 7). Sahu questions the historicity of the accounts of the Kaliṅga kings as also the tradition about the tooth relic being brought to Dantapura ([437], p. 14). On the location of Dantapura, see chap. I, n. 39.

[6]Sahu, [437], pp. 38-43. [7]Beal, [45], p. 159. [8]Beal, [45], pp. 159-61.

[9]Beal, [45], p. 154.

[10]According to Sahu ([437], pp. 68-71), Tārānātha's testimony that the Mahāyāna teachings and the *Prajñāpāramitā* were left by Mañjuśrī in the house of Candragupta, a king of Oḍiviśā, has a historical element. Sahu argues that the origins of Mahāyāna Buddhism lay in Orissa.

[11]Chanda, [65], p. 6. Cunningham ([85], p. 432) locates the Puṣpagiri monastery at Udayagiri and Khandagiri. According to Sahu ([437], p. 50), the location of the Puṣpagiri monastery should be sought in the Phulbani-Ghumsur area.

yoga), and Dantapura.[12] Several renowned Mahāyāna scholars such as Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Dignāga, Vasumitra, Triratnadāsa, Sthiramati, Dharmapāla, and Dharmakīrti are known to have been associated with Orissa.[13] In the eighth century, the Buddhist monk Prajñā delivered to the Chinese emperor Te-tsong an autographed manuscript of the Mahāyāna text the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (a part of the *Avataṁśaka*), sent by a king of Orissa. The Orissan king in question seems to have been one of the Bhauma-Karas, though which member of this dynasty he was is a matter of dispute.[14]

In course of time, Orissa emerged as an important centre of Tantrayāna or Vajrayāna Buddhism and its offshoot—Kālacakrayāna. Uḍḍīyāna, one of the four centres of Hindu as well as Buddhist tantra was probably located in Orissa.[15] Several of the Buddhist Siddhācāryas, such as Sarahapāda (or Rāhulabhadra), Luīpā, Vajraghaṇṭa, Kambala, Padmavajra, Indrabhūti, Padmasambhava, Lakṣmī Karā, Virūpā, and Kānhupā (or Kṛṣṇācārya) are known to have been associated, through birth, residence, or teaching, with Orissa.[16] That Ratnagiri was an important centre of Kālacakrayāna is indicated by a reference in the eighteenth century Tibetan text *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, according to which ācārya Bitoba brought the *Kālacakra Tantra* from Śambhala to Ratnagiri where he explained it to Abodhutipa, Bodhiśrī, and Nāropa.[17]

Buddhist structural remains have been found at numerous places in Orissa, including Udayagiri, Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri, Kundeswar, Vajragiri, and Baneshwarnasi (all in Cuttack district), Baudh (Phulbani district), Khiching (Mayurbhanj district), and Khadipada, Solampur, and Ayodhya (in Baleshwar district).[18] Of these, Ratnagiri has revealed a major Buddhist monastic establishment that flourished from about the fifth century AD till the twelfth century, after which it continued to exist in a state of decline till

[12]Sahu, [437], p. 95. For a detailed discussion of these and other Mahāyāna centres in Orissa, see [437], pp. 80-95.

[13]Nāgārjuna was born in South Kosala, visited Orissa, and set up several vihāras there. Āryadeva was born in Siṁhapura in Kaliṅga. Dignāga spent much time in the Bhora Śaila monastery. Vasumitra, Triratnadāsa, Sthiramati, Dharmapāla, and Dharmakīrti are known to have lived for varying periods of time in Orissa. For detailed references, see Sahu, [437], pp. 95-117.

[14]See p. 57, n. 107.

[15]The other three centres were: Pūrṇagiri, Kāmākṣa, and Sirihaṭṭa. On the various theories about the location of Uḍḍīyāna see Sahu, [437], pp. 142-47. Panigrahi's suggestion ([353], p. 106) that Pūrṇagiri may be an error of the copyists for Puṣpagiri remains speculative.

[16]Sahu, [437], pp. 162-72. [17]Cited by Mitra, [320], p. 226.

[18]Mitra, [320], p. 224.

about the sixteenth century.[19] Kuruma in Puri district has revealed an ancient Buddhist site replete with a number of Buddhist images datable to the ninth and tenth centuries.[20] A Buddhist monastic establishment has also been unearthed at Sirpur (Raipur district, Madhya Pradesh), with evidence of a Śaivite intrusion in the later levels.[21] South of the modern boundaries of Orissa, Buddhist remains have been discovered at Sankaram and Ramatirtham (Vishakhapatnam district) and Salihundam (Srikakulam district) in Andhra Pradesh.[22] The remains at the first two of these sites may be assigned to roughly the first to the tenth centuries AD.[23] The earliest stone inscriptions found at Salihundam have been dated to about the second century AD.[24] The remains of a Buddhist vihāra complex have also been found at Kotturu in Vishakhapatnam district and Markandaputta in Srikakulam district.[25]

Jainism in Orissa

According to Jaina tradition, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra taught his doctrine in Orissa in the course of his travels.[26] The remains of Jaina structures and sculptures have been found in various parts of Orissa. The Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves (located six miles west of Bhubaneswar railway station) contain a series of Jaina rock-cut dwelling retreats for ascetics. The inscriptions in the Hathigumpha and Manchapuri caves indicate that these hills were an important Jaina centre during the period of the Cedis. The Hathigumpha inscription (which may be assigned roughly to the first century AD)[27] commences with a Jaina salutation to the arhats and the siddhas, and after describing the childhood and education of the Cedi king Khāravela, proceeds to give an account of the thirteen years of this king's reign after his consecration (abhiṣeka) at the age of twenty-four. Line 12 of the inscription refers to Khāravela's having, in his twelfth year, restored the image of the Kaliṅga jina that had been carried away by Nandarāja.[28]

[19]Mitra, [320], p. 226. *IAAR*, 1957-58, pp. 39-41; 1958-59, pp. 33-36; 1959-60, pp. 38-39; 1960-61, pp. 28-30.

[20]*IAAR*, 1974-75, pp. 37, 70; 1975-76, p. 37; 1976-77, p. 40.

[21]*IAAR*, 1953-54, p. 12; 1954-55, pp. 24-26; 1955-56, pp. 26-27; 1960-61, p. 61.

[22]Mitra, [320], pp. 218-22. [23]Mitra, [320], pp. 221-22.

[24]Ramachandran, [407], pp. 133-37; Gadre, [140], pp. 87-88; *IAAR*, 1953-54, pp. 11-12.

[25]*IAAR*, 1953-54, pp. 23-24; 1955-56, p. 73. [26]Jain, [212], p. 54.

[27]Jayaswal and Banerji, [215], pp. 71-89; Sircar ed., [539], pp. 213-21.

[28]This Nandarāja was probably one of the Nanda kings of Magadha, in all likelihood Mahāpadma Nanda, the first ruler of this dynasty. Jayaswal and Banerji ([215], p. 85) suggest that the Kaliṅga jina referred to in line 12 of the Hathigumpha inscription may have been Śītalanātha, the tenth Jaina tīrthaṅkara. Sahu ([445], pp. 228-29) thinks the reference may be

Lines 14-15 refer to the excavation by this king of a number of caves for the residence of monks in the Kumārī (i.e. Udayagiri) hills.[29] The Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves contain a large number of inscriptions including one in the Manchapuri cave which records the erection of a shrine and a cave (for residence) for the Jaina monks by the chief queen of Khāravela.[30]

The inscriptions in the Hathigumpha and Manchapuri cave belong to the first century BC or the first century AD, but the Jaina establishment in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills may predate these inscriptions.[31] Khandagiri witnessed important building activity during the Somavaṁśī period, when a few of the old cells were converted into sanctuaries with the carving of tīrthaṅkaras and śāsana-devīs (deities associated with the tīrthaṅkaras) on the walls.[32] Sculptural additions continued during medieval and modern times, although the cells were not inhabited by monks throughout this long period. Thus, the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills reveal evidence of Jaina occupation from perhaps a pre-Khāravela period to the present day, with a few breaks.[33]

Jaina images (some belonging to the medieval period) have been found at a large number of sites in Orissa including the following: Anandpur, Baidakhia, Baranchua, Jumbhir, Podasinghidi, and Thunigan in Kendujhar district; Baleshwar in Baleshwar district; and Chasakhanda in Cuttack district.[34]

Śaiva, Śākta, and Vaiṣṇava Temples in Orissa

Sanskrit works such as the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, *Svarṇādrimahodaya*, *Ekāmra-Candrikā*, and *Kapila-saṁhitā* (none of which are earlier than the thirteenth century) give an account of the origin and history of the important temples of Bhubaneswar which is heavily embellished with myth.[35] The *Mādalā Pāñji*, the (palm-leaf chronicle of the Jagannātha temple at Puri), and another source of information on this matter, belongs to about the seventeenth century. The problem of dating the temples of Orissa is compounded

to Ṛṣabhanātha, the first Jaina tīrhthaṅkara. According to De ([102], p. 39), a frieze in the Manchapuri cave depicts the installation or worship of the Kaliṅga jina by Khāravela and his family after its recovery from Nandarāja.

[29]It may be mentioned that while some scholars (for instance, Rath, [423], p. 126) speak of Jainism as the State religion of Orissa on the strength of the Hathigumpha inscription, according to Schubring, all the inscription indicates is that the Jaina community flourished during Khāravela's rule ([453], p. 48).

[30]Banerji, [29], pp. 159-67. [31]Mitra, [323], p. 5. [32]Mitra, [323], p. 6.
[33]Mitra, [323], p. 6. [34]*IAAR*, 1975-76, p. 37; 1958-59, p. 73.
[35]Donaldson, [119], p. 5.

by the fact that very few temples bear commemorative inscriptions. Most of the temple inscriptions post-date their construction, and record endowments made to the temple establishment, not indicating who was responsible for the construction of the temple.[36] In the absence of more direct evidence, the palaeography of the temple inscriptions remains an important basis for delineating the chronology of Orissan temples.[37]

The earliest extant temples in Orissa belong to the sixth century AD. These are the Lakṣmaṇeśvara, Bharateśvara, and Śatrughneśvara temples at Bhubaneswar. The frequency of the depiction of Lakulīśa, the founder of the Pāśupata sect, on these temples suggests that they were associated with the Śaiva Pāśupata sect.[38] Images of Lakulīśa continue to occur throughout Orissa on the facades of the temples of the succeeding centuries, indicating the popularity of this sect in Orissa.[39] According to K.C. Panigrahi, some of the earliest temples of Orissa were named after famous teachers of the Pāśupata sect.[40]

The eighth and ninth centuries witnessed an upsurge of temple-building activity throughout Orissa.[41] The temples built during the ensuing period

[36]Donaldson, [119], p. 5.

[37]Donaldson, [119], p. 6. Donaldson points out that there are a few exceptions to the rule; the few inscriptions that do permit a precise dating of certain temples include the commemorative inscriptions on the Brahmeśvara, Megheśvara, Ananta-Vāsudeva, and Pāpanāśinī temples at Bhubaneswar, the Śobhaneśvara temple at Niali, the Cāṭeśvara temple at Kisenpur, and the Candraśekhara temple at Kapilas hill ([119], pp. 5-6). Of these temples, only the Brahmeśvara falls within the chronological scope of this study, the others being later in date.

[38]Lakulīśa was considered an incarnation of Śiva. Few historical details about him can be gleaned from the various sources. He seems to have belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family, and is supposed to have settled at a place named Kāyāvarohaṇa, Kāyāvatāra, Kārohaṇa, or Kāyārohaṇa, apparently located in the Lāṭa or Bhṛgukaccha region of Gujarat (Lorenzen, [269], p. 177). His name is derived from 'lakula,' 'laguda,' or 'lakuṭa,' which mean a club: Lakulīśa was 'the lord who bears the club.' He generally appears in iconographic representations with a club in his left hand. The date of Lakulīśa is controversial; he may have lived during the early centuries of the common era ([269], p. 179). He is supposed to have had four disciples—Kuśika, Gārgya, Kauruṣa, and Maitreya, who were responsible for the initial dissemination of Pāśupatism. According to Mitra ([321], p. 105), Lakulīśa often appears in sculpture in a teaching pose, surrounded by his disciples.

[39]See Mitra, [321], pp. 103-18.

[40]Panigrahi, [353], p. 224. The Pārāsaśvara, which seems to have been the original name of the Paraśurāmeśvara, and the Kapileśvara temple are two examples cited by Panigrahi. According to Panigrahi ([353], pp. 225-26), the shrines listed in texts such as the *Svaṃṇādrimahodaya* and *Ekāmra Purāṇa* reveal some more instances of temples whose names were evidently derived from those of Pāśupata teachers. The Bhāratī Maṭha, the oldest maṭha of Bhubaneswar, still observes the Pāśupata practice of enshrining liṅgams representing deceased teachers (Panigrahi, [353], pp. 226-27).

[41]Donaldson, [119], p. 111. Donaldson observes that this unprecedented expansion of temple-building activity reflects an increase in the number of competent workshops as well as developing local patronage.

display an amalgamation of Śaivism, Śāktism, and Tantrism.[42] Śākta images appear in the temples of Orissa from the eighth century onwards, the terrifying aspects of the goddess being displayed in the Vaitāl, Uttareśvara, and Mohinī temples of Bhubaneswar.[43] Cāmuṇḍā and Durgā Mahiṣamardanī were among the more frequently depicted goddesses. The Sapta-Māṭṛkās or Seven Mothers appear often on the walls of Śaiva temples.[44] The two hypaethral temples at Hirapur in Puri district and Ranipur Jharial in Bolangir district indicate the worship of the Yoginīs in the early tenth century. Several Śākta shrines, including the Vaitāl Deul, indicate the influence of the Śaiva Kāpālika sect.[45] Jajpur was one of the most important centres of Śāktism in Orissa and was famed as one of the Śākta pīṭhas.[46]

The largest temple at Bhubaneswar is the Liṅgarāja temple, dedicated to Śiva. According to a tradition recorded in the *Mādalā Pāñji*, it took three generations of kings to effect the completion of the temple of Kṛttivāsa (as the Liṅgarāja was then known): begun by Yayāti-keśarī, continued by Ananta-keśarī, it was finally completed by Lalāṭendukeśarī.[47] While the Yayāti-keśarī of this tradition may be identified with one of the two Somavaṁśī kings named Yayāti,[48] the other two kings are not mentioned in the Somavaṁśī inscriptions.[49] The tradition current in Bhubaneswar, however, ascribes the building of the Liṅgarāja to Yayāti-keśarī and Udyotakeśarī. An inscription on the wall of the jagamohana (the hall in front of the shrine) records an inscription dated AD 1114-15 in the reign of the Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, and gives an upper limit for the date of the Liṅgarāja. Taking into acount the epigraphic evidence, the apparent synchronism with the Somavaṁśī kings, and the architectural features of the temple, the completion of the Liṅgarāja may be tentatively assigned to the third quarter of the eleventh century.[50]

[42]Donaldson, [119], pp. 72-73.
[43]Donaldson, [119], p. 72.
[44]Dehejia, [111], p. 12.
[45]Donaldson, [119], p. 73.
[46]Donaldson, [119], pp. 349-51. Sircar, [514], p. 86.
[47]*Mādalā Pāñji*, Prachi edition, p. 6; cited by Panigrahi, [353], p. 165.
[48]Panigrahi ([353], p. 165) identifies him with Yayāti II.
[49]Panigrahi ([353], pp. 165-66) suggests that Ananta-keśarī and Lalāṭendu-keśarī may be have been aliases of Udyota-keśarī. He argues that Udyota-keśarī may have been converted into Ananta-keśarī in the Mādalā Pāñji account because it was an uncommon an unfamiliar name. Further, there is a cave known locally as the Lalāṭendu Keśarī guphā on the Khandagiri hill which contains an inscription dated in the fifth year of Udyotakeśarī. According to Panigrahi, if Ananta-keśarī and Lalāṭendu-keśarī are accepted as being names of Udyotakeśarī, the apparently contradictory evidence of the traditional accounts and the inscriptions can be reconciled: the Liṅgarāja was begun by Yayāti II and completed by his successor Udyotakeśarī.
[50]Donaldson, [119], p. 329.

Until the middle of the twelfth century AD, Orissa was the land of Śaiva temples, and Vaiṣṇava temples were few in number. Vaiṣṇavism is represented at Bhubaneswar by only two temples, one of which is the small Maṇibhadreśvara temple.[51] At Gandharadi in Phulbani district are located the twin temples of Siddheśvara and Nīlamādhava, dedicated to Śiva and Viṣṇu respectively, dating to the early tenth century.[52] Another instance of a Vaiṣṇava temple is the Pañca Pāṇḍava temple on the bank of the Birupa river, bordering Ganeswarpur village in Cuttack district.[53] Among the early examples of Vaiṣṇava temples in Dakṣiṇa Kosala is the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur (built by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī queen Vāsaṭā), stylistically dated to the seventh or eighth century.[54] While the number of surviving pre-twelfth century Vaiṣṇava temples in Orissa is few, there is considerable evidence of Vaiṣṇava influence on the Śaiva shrines of Orissa. Hari-Hara images appear frequently in Śaiva temples. Vaiṣṇava motifs and imagery are prominent in the Maṇikeśvara temple at Śukleśvara, the Śaiva temple at Badgaon, the Madhukeśvara temple at Mukhalingam, and the Siṁhanātha temple near Baideswar.[55] Among the Vaiṣṇava sculptural remains found in Orissa, mention may be made of a row of ten images of Viṣṇu found near Niali in Cuttack district and a tenth century Viṣṇu image found in a ruined brick structure at Chahata in Puri district.[56]

The construction of the Jagannātha[57] temple at Puri is generally placed in the middle of the twelfth century AD and is ascribed to the imperial Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga.[58] The earliest epigraphic reference crediting Coḍagaṅga with the construction of the temple occurs in the Dasgoba plates of Rājarāja III (AD 1199).[59] However, while the imperial Gaṅga praśasti from the time of Rājarāja III onwards gives the credit for the construction of the Jagannātha temple to Gaṅgeśvara (Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga), this achievement does not receive mention in any of the inscriptions of Coḍagaṅga nor in those of his four sons who ruled in succession after him—Kāmārṇava (AD 1147-56), Rāghava (AD 1156-70),

[51]Donaldson, [119], pp. 358-59.
[52]Donaldson, [119], pp. 219-20.
[53]Donaldson, [119], pp. 281-84.
[54]Donaldson, [119], p. 190.
[55]Donaldson, [119], pp. 126-27, 141, 154-55, 166.
[56]*IAAR*, 1971-72, pp. 76, 77.
[57]The deity enshrined in the Puri temple came to be known by the name of Jagannātha towards the end of the thirteenth century; prior to this, he was known as Puruṣottama (Stietencron, [580], p. 62.
[58]For the tradition crediting one of the Somavaṃśī kings named Yayāti with building an earlier temple of Puruṣottama at Puri, see Stietencron, [578], pp. 16-22.
[59]Sircar and Sarma, [544], p. 255, v. 27.

Rājarāja II (AD 1170-90) and Anaṅgabhīma II (AD 1190-98). Literary sources suggest that while the construction of the Jagannātha temple may have been begun during the reign of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, it may not have been completed during his life-time. According to the Puruṣottama-māhātmya, which forms part of the Utkalakhaṇḍa of the *Skanda Purāṇa* (which may be assigned to about the early fourteenth century), the temple was begun by a king named Indrayumna who did not live to see its completion; Indrayumna is described as worrying in heaven about the continuation of the building activities.[60] On the other hand, the Rāja-bhoga Itihāsa section of the Oriya *Mādalā Pāñji* (of about the seventeenth century) associates the foundation of the Jagannātha temple with Coḍagaṅga's eldest son, Kāmārṇava. The account mentions Rājarāja (II) as having continued the work on the temple (Rāghava, the successor of Kāmārṇava is omitted from the account), and gives the credit for the completion of the temple to Anaṅgabhīma II.[61] Thus, while literary and epigraphic evidence gives contradictory accounts of the construction of the Jagannātha temple, it does suggest that the temple was not completed during the reign of one king. The construction of the Jagannātha temple was probably begun by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga in around AD 1136, when the Gaṅga empire had stabilized and its centre of gravity had shifted northwards; the temple probably saw its completion during the reigns of the successors of Coḍagaṅga.[62]

Royal endowments to Buddhist establishments: The fourth to the mid-twelfth century

Among the inscriptions of Period I (fourth to seventh century), the Jayarampur plate of mahārāja Acyuta, a feudatory of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Gopacandra records the royal endowment of Śvetavālikā village[63] to some Buddhist monks residing in a vihāra (monastery) at Bodhipadraka and to Ārya-Avalokiteśvara installed and honoured by the Ārya-saṁgha. The grant was made in order to make provisions for bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), gandha (sandal paste), puṣpa

[60] *Skanda Purāṇa*, Utkalakhaṇḍa, 20, 47b; 21, 44b; 22, 13-14; 22, 22b-24a, cited by Stietencron, [579], p. 531.

[61] Stietencron, [579], pp. 525-27.

[62] The evidence for the date of the Jagannātha temple has been discussed in detail by Stietencron, [579], pp. 516-32.

[63] Śvetavālikā has been identified with the twin villages of Sialia and Bela, about one mile north-east of Jayarampur (Rajaguru, [384], p. 222).

(flowers), dīpa (lamps), and so forth,[64] for providing for the havis (oblations), piṇḍa-pātra (the pots for offering oblations), as well as sleeping or resting places and medicines for the monks. The grant was made in perpetuity (to last as long as the moon and the sun). According to S.N. Rajaguru, line 31 of the inscription indicates that the annual tax was fixed at 100 aripiṇḍaka-cūrṇikās.[65] This is, thus, a kara-śāsana. Rajaguru admits that the aripiṇḍaka-cūrṇikā is a currency not known from any other source, literary or epigraphic.[66] It may be pointed out that while Aripiṇḍka-cūrṇikā is an unfamiliar term, it may be related to the terms 'piṇḍaka' and cūrṇi.' 'Piṇḍaka' appears to have referred to a kind of tax levied in cash or in kind, or to the total tax assessment of a land-holding,[67] while 'cūrṇi' probably denoted one hundred cowrie-shells.[68]

The Mallar plates of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta (no. 10) record this king's gift of Kailāsapura grāma in Taraḍaṁśaka bhoga to a small Buddhist monastery at Taraḍaṁśaka which had been constructed at the instance of a woman named Alka (Alakā), wife of Koradeva; the gift is said to have been made by the king at the request of his maternal uncle Bhāskaravarman.[69] The land was granted in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka), along with hidden treasures and deposits (sa-nidhi s-opanidhi), along with the right to punish or realize fines from those guilty of the ten offences (sa-daś-āparādha), and along with all taxes (sarva-kara-sameta). It was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-varjita), and was not to be entered by cāṭas and bhaṭas (pratiṣiddha-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśatayā). The residents of the village were told to live in contentment, rendering to the donees all dues such as the bhoga, bhāga, and so forth.

Among the royal grants to Buddhist establishments of Period II (seventh to tenth century), two of the Bhauma-Kara grants—the two Talcher

[64]These terms occur often in the temple context. Their occurrence in a Buddhist context may be noted.

[65]Rajaguru, [384], p. 223. [66]Rajaguru, [384], p. 223. [67]Sircar, [486], p. 250.

[68]Sircar, [486], p. 77.

[69]Kailāsapura has been tentatively identified with Kesla village, about eight miles to the south-east of Mallar (Mirashi and Pandeya, [307], p. 120). According to Mirashi and Pandeya, Taraḍaṁśaka bhoga, within which the gift village was located, may be identified with the Talahāri-maṇḍala mentioned in several later inscriptions (Bhandarkar's *List*, nos. 1231, 1232, 1240); one of these inscriptions refer to Mallāla (which may be identified with Mallar, the find-spot of the inscription under discussion). Mallar village has yielded ruins of old temples as well as Buddhist and Jain sculptures. According to Mirashi and Pandeya, the Buddhist sculptures at Mallar are said to have been brought from a village called Jaitpur, situated one mile north of Mallar, and hence, Jaitpur may mark the site of the Buddhist monastery referred to in the Mallar plates.

plates of Śivakaradeva (nos. 13, 14)—between them record the grant by the king of Kallāṇi grāma attached to Pūrvva-rāṣṭra viṣaya and Suraddhipura grāma in Madhyamakhaṇḍa viṣaya[70] (both viṣayas being located in north Tosalī) to a Buddhist establishment. The grant was made at the request of rāṇaka Vinītatuṅga (apparently a Bhauma-Kara feudatory). In the case of both grants, one share of the land was assigned for the perpetual provision for snapana (ablution), gandha (sandal paste), puṣpa (flowers), dhūpa (incense), dīpa (lamps), naivedya (food), bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (oblations to the ancestors), and pūjā (worship) for the lord Buddha (Buddha bhaṭṭāraka) in the shrine (āyatana) built by Amu bhaṭṭāraka,[71] as also for the maintenance of servants, and for supplying the ten attendants of the female mendicants (bhikṣuṇīs) with garments, pots for offering oblations (piṇḍa-pātra), sleeping or resting places, and medicines. A third of the income from the land was for repairs of the shrine, and the remaining third for the maintenance of the dānapati.[72]

Both the Bhauma-Kara grants mentioned here describe the boundaries of the gift land. In the case of inscription no. 13, these were as follows: Trikaṭā (trikūṭa ?); a joṭa (canal); the middle of the bed of the Kavaḍa joṭa; Gohiri; the eastern embankment (pūrv-āli); Vitāvirā; Tailakhāta; Vā(Bā)-gha-garttikā; the Māṣa river. The boundaries of the village gifted by inscription no. 14 included the following land-marks: Tamāla khaṇḍakṣetra; the Sumeyi river; Devalaya joṭa; Trikaṭā (trikūṭa ?); the river as it passed close to Pustariyāpura, Gayāḍapura, Kalyāṇipura, Hastināpura-kṣetra, Koraṇḍīya-kṣetra, and Śaṅkhapura; Janapaṅgā.[73] The terms of the grants

[70]Misra ([318], pp. 42, 51) identifies Kallāṇi village with modern Kaliam (20°15'N; 86°24'E) in the old Keonjhar state, and Suradhipura with modern Sirdarpur (21°18'N; 83°11'E) in the old Talcher state ([318], p. 51). It may be noted that some Buddhist sculptures were discovered in the vicinity of Jagati, the find-spot of the Talcher plates ([318], p. 32).

[71]Reference to these elements of worship in a Buddhist context may be noted.

[72]Misra ([318], p. 41) states that the deed was executed at Jayāśrama vihāra, which according to him ([318], p. 42) was probably located at Jagati, the find-spot of the inscription. However, neither the text nor the translation of the inscription as given by Misra contain any reference to this vihāra. The occurrence of the term 'dānapati' may be noted. Sircar ([486], p. 79) includes the following as the possible meanings of this term: one who gives a gift; one who dedicates the image of a deity (especially as the result of a previous vow); an official designation. Elsewhere, according to Sircar ([526], p. 138, n. 2), in old Bengali, 'dānapati' refers to a person who, having promised to dedicate an object on the fulfilment of a particular desire, kept this vow.

[73]The following identifications have been suggested by Misra ([318], p. 51): Tamāla with Tamur (21°18'N; 85°14'E) in the old Pal-Lahara State; the Sumeyi river with the Somakoi river in the old Pal Lahara State; Devalaya joṭa with the Dulia river in Keonjhar; Koraṇḍīya with Kolanda (21°15'N; 85°10'E); Janapaṅga with Jonapara (21°15'N; 85°13'E).

were as follows: the land was granted in perpetuity (candr-ārka-kṣiti-samakālam) according to the bhūmicchidr-āpidhāna-nyāya, which probably means along with all rights of ownership such as those to which a person who brought fallow land under cultivation for the first time became entitled. It was granted along with the taxes known as the uparikara (s-oparikara), together with the space above the ground (s-oddeśa), along with weavers, cowherds, brewers, and other subjects (sa-tantravāya-gokuṭa-śauṇḍhik-ādi-prakṛtika), and along with the outposts situated in the village, at landing or bathing places, and ferries (sa-kheṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadi-tara-sthān-ādi-gulmaka). The gifted land was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-varjita), and was not to be made the subject of another document, i.e. was inalienable (a-lekhanī-praveśatayā).

Mention may be made of the Khadipada image inscription (no. 4) of the time of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākara, which records a private donation. This inscription records the dedication of the image of Padmapāṇi (on which it is inscribed) by a person named Rāhularuci, the mahāmaṇḍalācārya and paramaguru. According to S.C. De, Rāhularuci of this inscription may be identified with the famous Buddhist teacher named Rāhulabhadra of Oḍivisa (Orissa), mentioned in Tārānātha's account and in the Tibetan *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zan.*[74]

Among the inscriptions of Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century), the Ratnagiri plates of the Somavaṁśī ruler Karṇa (no. 28) record the royal grant of Koṇā grāma in Vra(Bra)hmo(hme)-Aṭṭhāvīsa-khaṇḍa in Uttara-Tosali. The endowment was made in favour of a woman described in the inscription as Rāṇi Śrī Karppūraśrī, daughter of Mahārīmā Hīṇadevi(vī) or Mahārī Māhūṇadevī and grand-daughter of Udayamati. Karppūraśrī is, further, described as having the Kāśyapa gotra and a three-ṛṣi pravara, and as hailing from the renowned Saloṇapura mahāvihāra in Utkala-deśa.[75] According to Debala Mitra, the statement in the inscription that the donee came from the Saloṇapura monastery suggests that she was a Buddhist, although if so, her claiming a gotra and pravara seems incongruous. Mitra also states that her title 'rāṇi' is enigmatic, and it is not clear whether she was the wife of a rāṇaka or one of Karṇa's secondary queens.[76] According to D.C. Sircar, Karppūraśrī was one of the secondary queens or concubines of Karṇa, and, from the fact that the names of her mother and grandmother are given in the inscription as also that her mother is described as 'mahārī,'

[74]De, [103], p. 67.
[75]Modern Solampur was probably the site of the Saloṇapura monastery.
[76]Mitra, [322], p. 264.

she appears to have been the daughter of a prostitute or a devadāsī. Sircar continues that a devadāsī could not possibly have been associated with a Buddhist monastery, that she could not have been a resident of the Saloṇapura monastery, and that the reference in the inscription should probably be interpreted as indicating that Karppūraśrī lived in the vicinity of the Saloṇapura monastery.[77]

Royal grants to Jaina establishments: The fourth to the mid-twelfth century

There are no instances of royal grants in favour of Jaina religious establishments in Period I (fourth to seventh century). Among the royal grants of Period II (seventh to tenth century), reference may be made to the Banpur plates of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja Mānabhīta (no. 12).[78] These plates record the grant of three timpīras of land in Suvarṇaloṇḍī attached to Thoraṇa viṣaya and two and one-fourth ṭimpīras in Madhuvāṭaka village attached to Rāṇḍa sīmaı (subdivision) in favour of a religious establishment presided over by Pravu(bu)ddhacandra, who is described in the inscription as an 'eka-śāṭa' (perhaps indicating a monk who has taken a vow to wear only one piece of cloth) and a disciple of the venerable teacher (arhad-ācārya) Nāsicandra. The purpose of the grant seems to have been to provide for the bali (offerings to all creatures), sattra (charitable feeding), and caru (oblations to the ancestors)[79] at a what may have been a Jaina religious establishment of which Pravu(bu)ddhacandra was in charge. The inscription specifies that the endowment was to be enjoyed by Pravu(bu)ddhacandra till his death (yāvat jīvati), i.e. was not hereditary.

The inscriptions of Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century) include several records in the Khandagiri caves belonging to the Somavaṁśī period. The Lalatendu-Kesari cave inscription of the time of Udyotakeśarī

[77]Sircar, [504], p. 272. According to Desai ([112], p. 163), an inscription from Gaya (*IA* 10, 1881: 341-47) refers to devadāsīs dancing and singing in a Buddhist establishment in India, while the thirteenth century testimony of Chau Ju Kua indicates that such women were also associated with Buddhist temples in Cambodia.

[78]According to Sircar ([537] p. 39), the real donor in this particular case may have been a queen named Kalyāṇadevī or Śrīkalyāṇadevī (her name occurs in l. 44), and the grant may have been endorsed by the king. The name of the queen is preceded by the epithet 'bhagavat.' If the epithet refers to the queen, it may suggest that she was the mother of the king; it may, on the other hand, refer to the unnamed deity (Sircar, [537], p. 40). The defective nature of the passage in question makes it difficult to ascertain the precise meaning intended.

[79]The terms bali, caru, and sattra occur often in the inscriptions in association with the activities associated with temples. The occurrence of these terms in this inscription in association with what is possibly a Jaina establishment may be noted.

(no. 23) is inscribed on the back wall of the Lalatendu-kesari cave above a group of Jaina images of the Digambara sect. The purport of the inscription seems to be that in the fifth regnal year of the king Udyotakeśarī, decayed tanks and temples were repaired, and images of the twenty-four tīrthaṅkaras set up on the Kumāra (i.e. Khandagiri) hill. There is a reference in the inscription to the illustrious Pārasyanātha, i.e. Pārśvanātha, but the fragmentary nature of the relevant section makes it difficult to reconstruct it satisfactorily. Two private inscriptions in the Navamuni caves (nos. 25, 26), one of which (no. 25) is dated in the eighteenth regnal year of the Somavaṁśī king Udyotakeśarī, between them, refer to two generations of probably Jaina teachers (ācāryas)—Kulacandra and Subhacandra. Kulacandra is described (in no. 25) as an ācārya of the Deśī gaṇa of the Graha kula which belonged to the Ārya saṁgha.

Royal endowments to temples

PERIOD I: THE FOURTH TO THE SEVENTH CENTURY

South Orissa

The grants of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (inscription nos. 1-13)

Two of the early Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga inscriptions record royal grants to temples. The beneficiary of the Narasingapalli plates of Hastivarman (no. 3) was the god Nārāyaṇa, described in the inscription as the one who lies on the seven seas, who is sung in the seven hymns, who is the sole lord of the seven worlds, and who has the designation 'Raṇabhītodaya.' The deity was apparently named after the king, Raṇabhīta being one of the biruḍas (aliases) of Hastivarman. The grant was made for providing for the performance of bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), and sattra (charitable feeding), and for repairs of dilapidation in the temple of this deity. It may be noted that this grant was made by the Gaṅga king Hastivarman at the request of bhogika[80] Buddha-mañci. The endowment consisted of six halas[81] of land along with four niveśanas (houses) constituted into a separate section in Rohaṇaki grāma in Varāha-varttani viṣaya. Rohaṇaki has been identified with modern Ronanki (84°E

[80]Fleet ([137], p. 100, n. 2) connects the title 'bhogika' with the territorial units 'bhoga' and 'bhukti.' Jha ([217], pp. 187-88) prefers to connect it with bhoga as a fiscal term, and suggests that the bhogika may have had something to do with the realization of this item of the king's revenue.

[81]On hala, see p. 194, n. 41.

× 18°20'N), and Varāhavarttanī viṣaya with the coastal region between Chicacole and Tekkali.[82] The inscription states that the endowment was constituted into an agrahāra for the god (dev-āgrahāra), to last as long as the moon, sun, and the stars (ā-candr-ārka-tāraka-pratiṣṭham), and was exempt from all taxes (sarva-karaiḥ parihṛtya). The boundaries of the gift land are specified: they included the trenches of the village (grāma-garttā), a mound of earth, the trenches of the viṣaya with the Kuravaka thicket, and a palm-grove.

The grant recorded in the Santa-Bommali plates of Indravarman (no. 6) is said to have been made for the performance of bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), and sattra (charitable feeding), as well as for the repair of dilapidation, in the temple of bhagavat Rāmeśvara bhaṭṭāraka at Dantayavāgu. This grant was made by the king at the request of the talavara deva-bhogika.[83] The land gifted to this deity consisted of two halas of land in Haribhaṭa grāma in Kroṣṭukavarttanī (identified with Chicacole, i.e. Srikakulam[84]), and a hala of land in Dantayavāgū.[85] The land is, as in the case of the Narasingapalli plates of Hastivarman, said to have been constituted into a 'dev-āgrahāra,' and the endowment was declared exempt from all taxes (sarva-karaiḥ parihṛtya) and was to last as long as the moon and the sun (ā-candr-ārka-pratiṣṭham). The boundaries of the field in Haribhaṭa included the following landmarks: the channel to carry off excess water of the tank called Kṣatriya-taṭāka; arjuna trees; a row of ant-hills; an artificial line of heaped-up rocks; a nimba tree; a well (kūpa); the royal road (rāja-mārga).

North and Central Orissa

The Asanapat inscription of Śatrubhañja

The Asanapat inscription of mahārāja Śatrubhañja records the construction of a temple (dev-āyatana) by the king. Today, only some bricks remain at the site where the inscription was found. The inscription is inscribed below an image of Śiva in the tāṇḍava pose (representing Śiva's

[82]Majumdar, [279], p. 65.

[83]These were apparently two official titles. Sircar ([486], p. 334) includes the following among the possible meanings of 'talavara:' the title of the nobility or of a subordinate ruler; the administrator of a city; a police officer in charge of a city; a royal official. The meaning of 'dev-bhogika' is not clear. For 'bhogika,' see n. 80.

[84]Ghoshal, [161], p. 196.

[85]Cf. Danatayavāgu bhoga mentioned in the Bṛhatproṣṭhā grant of the Pitṛbhakta king Umavarman (no. 4).

dance of destruction), and it is quite likely that the temple in question was one dedicated to Śiva.

The Vigraha grants

According to D.C. Sircar's reading, the Kanas plate of Lokavigraha records a grant for the institution of bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), and sattra (charitable feeding), at the maṭha associated with the deity Maṇināgeśvara of Caikāmbaka or Ekāmbaka, and for the maintenance of Brāhmaṇas who belonged to various gotras, and were students of the Maitrāyaṇīya branch (of the *Yajur Veda*).[86] If the place-name mentioned in the inscription is taken as Ekāmbaka, it may be regarded as a variant of Ekāmra or Ekāmraka, the ancient name for Bhubaneswar.[87] The actual donors were certain officials of Uṭida viṣaya including the vaiśvāsika, viṣayapati, and aṁśabṛhadbhogika,[88] who obtained permission from Lokavigraha to make the grant. The land granted to the maṭha was Ū[rddhvaśṛ]ṅga grāma attached to Uṭiḍa viṣaya. The grant is said to have been made after having ascertained that the village had in it no land uncultivated for a long time and that the land possessed many good qualities (cira-khila-śūnyam=aneka-guṇam=ity=avadhṛtya).[89] The endowment is said to have been made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-samakālīya) according to the law of non-transferability governing permanent endowments (akṣaya-nīvi-dharma).

The Datta grants

The deity Maṇināga-bhaṭṭāraka of Caikāmvakā or Ekāmvakā and Brāhmaṇas of the Maitrāyaṇīya school were also, according to D.C. Sircar's reading, the beneficiaries of the Kanas grant of Bhānudatta.[90] The land granted in this case was Kum[vu]kīrṣilāka grāma attached to U[tta]-mā[l]oka viṣaya. The land is referred to as 'cira-khila-śūnya' (having no land uncultivated for a long time), and the grant is said to have been made

[86]According to Rajaguru ([391], p. 40), the grant was made in favour of the deities Ambikā (Umā or Pārvatī) and Maṇināgeśvara (Maheśvara or Śiva).

[87]Sircar, [536], p. 330.

[88]According to Sircar ([486], pp. 18, 360, 378), the vaiśvāsika was probably a privy councillor or private secretary, the viṣayapati the governor of a district or viṣaya, and the aṁśabṛhadbhogika probably the share-holder of a big jagir.

[89]An alternative interpretation of the phrase cira-khila-śūnya could be land that has been for a long time uncultivated and empty.

[90]According to Rajaguru's reading and interpretation, Bhānudatta's grant was made in favour of the goddess Ambikā (Umā or Pārvatī) and Maṇināgeśvara (Maheśvara or Śiva), Rajaguru, [391], p. 40.

in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-sama-kālam). Rajaguru reads the name of the gift village as Kumbarka Suṅkhalāka.[91]

It is not certain whether the Maṇināgeśvara maṭha of the two Kanas inscriptions can be identified with the Kanas maṭha in Puri district where the two copperplates were found, or whether the maṭha in question was situated at Ranpur, or somewhere else altogether. According to D.C. Sircar, the name of Maṇināga, the son of Kadrū, is well-known in Pauranic literature.[92] He suggests that Maṇināga seems to have been identical with the Yakṣa Maṇibhadra who was widely worshipped in ancient India. The popularity of the Maṇināga cult in Orissa, he continues, is indicated by the existence of the Maṇināga hill at Ranpur as well as by the worship of the goddess Maṇināga-Durgā there.[93]

West Orissa

The Nala grants

Two of the Nala inscriptions record the erection of temples. The Podagarh stone inscription of the Nala king Skandavarman (no. 3) records the setting up of a sanctuary (pāda-mūla) of Viṣṇu. Abundant dakṣiṇā (sacrificial fees) was distributed on the occasion, and the gift of a 'pura' (here perhaps to be understood in the sense of a holding[94]) was made for Puruṣa (the Supreme Being, here evidently Viṣṇu). The proceeds were for the establishment of a sattra (charitable feeding house) for the feeding of Brāhmaṇas (vipras), ascetics (yatis), and the poor and destitute. The location of the land in question is not specified in the inscription, but it probably lay near Podagarh, where the temple was evidently constructed. The inscription stipulates that the gifted land was not to be entered by soldiers (apraveśyaṁ bhaṭaiḥ), and declares it to be permanently exempt from taxes (sadā kara-visarjitam).

The Rajim stone inscription of Vilāsatuṅga (no. 4) records the construction of a temple dedicated to Hari (Viṣṇu). The introductory stanzas of the inscription refer to Viṣṇu's churning of the milk-ocean and to his dwarf incarnation. The king apparently had the temple built for the increase of the religious merit of his deceased son. The inscription is incised on a stone slab built into a wall of the maṇḍapa (hall) of a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu

[91]Rajaguru, [391], p. 32, ll. 7-8.

[92]Sircar, [536], p. 330. Sircar cites the *Skanda Purāṇa*, Āvantyakhaṇḍa, Revākhaṇḍa, chap. 72 in this regard.

[93]Sircar, [536]. See also Mishra, [308], pp. 31-33.

[94]Krishnamacharlu, [248], p. 157, n. 1.

as Rājīvalocana (the lotus-eyed one). The inscription seems to be in situ, and the temple it refers to was apparently none other than the Rājīvalocana temple, one of the three important temples at Rajim.[95]

The Pāṇḍuvaṁśī grants

Among the various inscriptions that may be assigned to the reigns of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī kings, only one (no. 15) records a grant by a Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king to a temple. One inscription of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī period (no. 8) records an endowment of land to a Śaiva establishment by Durgarakṣita, a subordinate of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Bālārjuna, another (no. 13) records the construction of a temple of Hari (i.e. Viṣṇu) by Vāsaṭā, the mother of king Bālārjuna, and two (nos. 11 and 12) record private donations to Śaiva temples for the provision of flowers for the deity.

The beneficiary of the royal endowment recorded in the Lodhia plates of Mahāśivagupta (no. 15) is described as śrīmad-Īśāneśvara-bhaṭṭāraka (i.e. Śiva) established in a temple at Khadirapadra. The endowment is specified to be for the provision of bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (oblations to the ancestors), naivedya (food for the deity), and sattra (charitable feeding), for nṛtya (dancing) and vāditra (music), as well as for the repair of dilapidation to the temple. It may be noted that this grant is said to have been made at the request of Śūlapāṇi, a disciple of Pramathācārya who came from Pañcayajña tapovana in Dvaitavana forest.[96] The land granted in favour of the deity was a village named Vidyapadraka in [O]ṇi bhoga. The village in question has been identified with modern Baidpali village in the Bargarh tahsil of Sambalpur district.[97] The land was granted along with hidden treasures and deposts (sa-nidhāna s-opanidhāna), along with all taxes (sarva-kara-dāna-sameta), and along with the right to punish or realize fines from those guilty of the ten offences (sa-daś-āparādha). It was declared free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-vivarjita) and was not to be entered by the cāṭas and bhaṭas (pratiṣiddha-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa). The grant was made in perpetuity, and the residents of the village were

[95]Mirashi, [304], pp. 49, 54-55.

[96]According to Rajaguru ([404], 4: 350), the Pramathācārya of the Lodhia plates can probably be identified with the person whose name has been read as Prapittrācārya or Pramathācārya in one of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple inscriptions (see Ghosh, [148], pp. 126-27). It may be pointed out, however, that according to Ghosh ([148], p. 126), the palaeography of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple inscription in question belongs to the first half of the ninth century, which is later than the period of the Lodhia plates. Rajaguru ([404], 4: 350) also suggests that Pramathācārya belonged to the Śaiva Mattamayūra sect, and points out that Dvaitavana was an important pilgrim site mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.

[97]Pandeya, [347], p. 322.

instructed to make over to the beneficiary dues such as the bhāga and bhoga.

The Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta (no. 13), which was originally inscribed on the brick Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur, records the endowment of six villages by Vāsaṭā, the mother of the king, in favour of a Vaiṣṇava temple establishment. The villages gifted were Toḍaṅkaṇa, Madhuveḍha, Nālīpadra, Kurapadra, Vāṇapadra, and the additional village of Vargullaka.[98] Three of the shares were specifically endowed for the provision for charitable feeding (sattra), the repair of dilapidation to the temple, and the support of the families of the servants of the temple respectively. The fourth share was divided into fifteen parts. Twelve of these shares were assigned to Brāhmaṇas representing the three Vedas (four Brāhmaṇas affiliated to each of the three Vedas—*Ṛg, Yajur*, and *Sāma*), and the last three shares to the Brāhmaṇa Vāsavanandin, who is referred to as the puṇya-vācaka,[99] and to two Bhāgavatas—Vāmana and Śrīdhara. The additional village of Vargullaka is specified to have been granted for the provision of bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), naivedya (food for the deity), and sattra (charitable feeding). Verse 35 of the inscription states that the fifteen shares were not to be alienated by gift, sale, or mortgage ("ete pañca-daś-āṅgā vivarjitā dāna-vikray-ādhānaiḥ"). The endowment was hereditary; however, the inscription stipulates that if any of the descendants of the donees were not of virtuous conduct, they were to be replaced. Further, all the transactions were to be carried out by the principal resident Brāhmaṇas and worshippers (pāda-mūla) of the temple acting unanimously after meeting together. Verses 41-42 of the Sirpur stone inscription, which are fragmentary, seem to record a gift by the king Śivagupta to Guṇārya Bhaṭṭa, and refer to part of the gift being reserved for a virtuous Brāhmaṇa learned in the śāstras and the commentaries (vyākhyā) as well as in the Vedas.

The Senakapat inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna (no. 8) records an endowment of land made by Durgarakṣita, a subordinate of Śivagupta Bālārjuna, to certain beneficiaries associated with a Śaiva temple. The details of the inscription are of interest as they provide infor-

[98]Hiralal ([189], p. 188) identifies Vargullaka with Gullu, about ten miles south-west of Sirpur and five from Arang; Kurapadraka with Kulapadar, fifteen miles south-east of Sirpur; Toḍaṅkaṇa with Turenga near Kulapadar; and Madhuveḍha with Madhuban (about four miles from Turenga). He suggests that Vaṇapadra must have been close to Sirpur as it is described as 'in this place' (sthāne atra).

[99]A priest who officiates at auspicious ceremonies and proclaims with mantras a propitious day to the ceremony and its performer.

mation on persons and activities associated with this particular temple establishment, which was apparently located at modern Senakapat. According to verse 15 of the Senakapat inscription, two halas of black-soil land in Guḍaśarkaraka were granted to the god Madanārāti (the enemy of Madana, i.e. Śiva). Verses 16-18 of the inscription state that Durgarakṣita entrusted the temple to a Śaiva ascetic named Sadāśivācārya and to his spiritual successors;[100] Sadāśivācārya himself was apparently the spiritual successor of Sadyaḥśivācārya who hailed from a penance grove called Āmardaka.[101] Verses 20-22 name Sadāśivācārya as the beneficiary of three plots of land—four halas of black-soil land in Koḍāsīmā village, and two plots of black-soil land measuring two halas in Viyāṇaka village and in a locality called Lāṭa in Śrīparṇikā village.[102] According to verses 22-23 of the Senakapat inscription, the Śaiva ascetics were to arrange for a sacrificial ceremony (yāga), the initiation of people into the Śaiva faith which is capable of providing spiritual emancipation (nirvāṇa-dakṣa-dīkṣā), the exposition of Śaiva doctrine (samayasya vyākhyā), and the running of a charitable feeding house (annasya sattram) every year during the full-moon day of the months of Āṣāḍha, Kārttika, and Māgha. The inscription further stipulates that the Śaiva ascetics (tapasvins) were to stay at the temple and were not to lend money at interest. The boundaries of the tala-pāṭaka, i.e. the land gifted to the temple, are specified and included a trench (garttā), Śivasamudra (probably a place-name), and two roads (mārga).

Of the private donations to temples, mention may be made of the Sirpur Gandheśvara temple inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta (no. 11), which records the provision of flowers for the worship (pūjā) of the deity Gandharveśvara[103] by Jorjjarāka, who is described as one of the many saintly and pious persons living in the kingdom of the king. The flowers were to be supplied by the garland-makers of Navahaṭṭa for as long as they lived there. The Sirpur stone inscription (no. 12) records the provision of

[100]According to Rajaguru ([404], 4: 350), the Śaiva ascetics probably belonged to the Mattamayūra sect.

[101]According to Dikshit and Sircar ([117], pp. 34-35), Āmardaka is the name of the Kāla-Bhairava form of Śiva, and the penance grove referred to in the Senakapat inscription probably derived its name from the worship of this deity. The location of this place has not been identified, but it may be noted that references to it occur in several inscriptions from different parts of the country.

[102]Dikshit and Sircar ([117], p. 34) offer some tentative identifications of the place names mentioned in this inscription: Guḍaśarkaraka may perhaps be identified with one of the several villages called Sankra lying in the vicinity of Senakapat, while Koḍāsīmā may be identified with modern Korasi.

[103]Cf. Gandheśvara, the present name of the temple.

funds by two persons named Nāgadeva and Keśava, subjects of Śivagupta, for the provision of garlands of flowers for the worship of Śiva in the town of Śrīpura. Nāgadeva is referred to as a devoted servant of Śivagupta and as a distinguished Brāhmaṇa (dvij-ottama); Keśava is described as highly proficient in the arts and zealous in the performance of good deeds.

PERIOD II: THE SEVENTH TO THE TENTH CENTURY

South and Central Orissa

The grants of the Gaṅgas of Śvetaka

While the beneficiaries of the Indian Museum plates of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman (no. 11) included certain Brāhmaṇas who are named at the end of the inscription, a half share seems to have been set aside for a deity referred to as Bhaṭṭāraka Svayambhūkeśvara, and another portion assigned to Śrī Mādhava, apparently another deity. The temple in question seems to have been constructed under the instuctions of a woman named Śrī-Elā, as it is referred to as her 'dharma-kīrti.' Elā is described as the queen of Śrī Gaṅga Svayambhu, the eldest son of Śrī Gośvā(svā)maṇi. Gosvāmaṇi's name appears later in the inscription in connection with the registration of the grant with a seal, and she was probably Indravarman's queen. This indicates that Elā was the king Indravarman's daughter-in-law. The deity Svayambhūkeśvara was apparently named after the husband of Elā, and was probably in the form of a liṅga.[104] The beneficiaries of the Indian Museum plates included certain Brāhmaṇas whose names are given at the end of the inscription. The village granted in favour of the temple establishment was Bheṭhiśṛṅga attached to Paṭaṇi-khaṇḍa viṣaya (Chhabra reads Paḍraṇi-khaṇḍa or Paḍuṇi-khaṇḍa viṣaya[105]). The land was granted in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-samakālam), having been made tax-free (a-karīkṛtya), along with water, land, and forests (sa-jala-sthal-āraṇya) and with half the bank (of the stream/river) (ardha-srotra-sahitena).

The grants of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara and their feudatories (inscription nos. 14-40)

The beneficiary of the royal endowment of land recorded in the Vishakhapatnam plates of the time of Devendravarman (no. 21) was a

[104]Das Gupta ([95], p. 167) takes Mādhava and Svayambhūkeśvara to be names of Brāhmaṇas donees, which does not seem to be the case at all.

[105]Chhabra's editorial note to Das Gupta, [95], p. 169, n. 1.

deity named Śrīmad Dharmeśvara Bhaṭṭāraka; the grant is said to have been made at the time when the superintendentship of the shrine lay with the illustrious Brāhmaṇa (vipra) Somācārya. The deity was probably in the form of a liṅga and was named after the king's uncle Dharmakhedi, at whose request the grant was made. The endowment consisted of several villages (the names cannot be read with certainty) with their boundaries as they were being enjoyed from former times (pūrva-bhujyamāna-sīmā-sahitāni) in Dāvadāmadavaṁ viṣaya. The villages were granted in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-pratiṣṭhaṁ).

The Bangalore plates of Devendravarman (no. 25) record a grant of land to an individual named Rātuka, a resident of Pālukosu, and a 'Kateya-sūtra-pañca-vrata;'[106] also for the provision of caru (offerings to the ancestors), dhūpa (incense), and naivedya (food offerings) for the pūjā (worship) of the most worshipful deity (parama-bhaṭṭāraka) Parameśvara. The precise connection of Rātuka with the temple is not clear; he may have been the priest of the shrine. The endowment consisted of Sidhatā grāma in Varāhavarttanī; the boundaries are specified.[107]

The Chicacole plates of Devendravarman (no. 26) record a royal endowment in favour of Cetī, Lokaya and others (or Cetīloka and others), sons of Kavvāsaka Vilaci. The four brothers were to share the gift village equally (sāmānya-bhoga). The endowment consisted of Viriṇṭaṁ(ṇṭi ?)ka

[106]The meaning of this epithet is not clear.

[107]Rice (434, p. 33) does not give the text of the portion of the inscription referring to the boundaries. It may be noted that Sidhathā is mentioned in the Musinaka grant of Devendravarman (no. 24) as one of the villages adjacent to Musinaka, the gift village, which is said to have been situated in Varāhavartani viṣaya. Musinaka has been identified by Narasimham with modern Musunuru village. Mirashi ([300], p. 26) suggests that Sidhathā of the Musinaka grant is the same as Sidhatā of the Bangalore plates. He further suggests that these in turn may be identical with Siddhārthaka village, mentioned in the Achyutapuram and Siddhantam plates, which may be identified with modern Siddhantam, about three miles south of Nagarakatakam, near the right bank of the Vamsadhara river. The Achyutapuram plates of the Kaliṅganagara king Indravarman (no. 5) record a grant in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Durggaśarmman. The endowment consisted of one hala of land (constituted into a separate section) in the rāja-taṭāka-kṣetra (probably in the vicinity of the royal tank) in Siddhārtthaka village in Varāhavarttanī. The Siddhantam plates of the Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga king Devendravarman (no. 17) record the grant of one hala of land in the brahmacārī section of Siddhārtthaka village in Varāhavarttanī. The Bangalore plates of Devendravarman (no. 25) referred to above seem to make over Sidhatā village to Rātuka and the temple establishment with which he was associated. If the villages mentioned in these three inscriptions are identical, the Bangalore plates appear to have set aside the claims of the descendants of the Brāhmaṇa donees of the Achyutapuram and Siddhantam plates. Further, the fact that Siddhathā was adjacent to Musinaka of the Musinaka plates may be noted, as it suggests the clustering of brahmadeya and devadeya villages in certain areas.

grāma in Puṣkaraṇ[ī] viṣaya (Puṣkaraṇī has been identified by Narayana Rao and Subba Rao with Srikurmam in Srikakulam district[108]), excluding the land belonging to the bhaṭṭārikā—apparently the village goddess to whom a part of the village had been assigned at an earlier date. The boundaries of the land are specified, and included the following land-marks: two embankments (setu), including one situated at the boundary of Māradā grāma; various rows of forest-trees; the boundary of Puṣkariṇi(ṇī) (probably the head-quarter of a viṣaya of this name); the boundary of Puṣkariṇi(ṇī) and Kumārikābhaḍa village. The endowment was made in perpetuity (candr-ārka-tārakam yāvat) and was exempted from all taxes (sarva-kara-bharam=apahṛtya). According to D.C. Sircar, the expression 'sva-karma-vṛttyā' (in line 11) in the inscription and the subsequent reference to the bhaṭṭārikā, seems to suggest that the four donees were priests of the said goddess and received the grant as fees for their priestly services.[109]

The Chicacole plates of Satyavarman (no. 32) record that Tāru grāma in Galela or Galelai viṣaya was constituted into an agrahāra of the village god (grāma-deva), and was given by the king to Kamalāsana, the son of Guru Khaṇḍyama. Line 21 refers to the land as a 'Śaiva-sthānakam.' The boundaries of the village are specified, and included the following land-marks: three (?) tanks (taṭāka), an arjuna tree, hills, rocks, akṣa-ḷoṅka (?), ali-śilātala (?), a well (vāpī). The land was granted in perpetuity (ā-candra-tārakaṁ), having been made free from all taxes (sarva-kara-bharaiḥ parihṛtya).[110]

The Galavalli plates of Manujendravarman (no. 37) record a grant to Kauṇḍuka-Guṇḍeśvara, probably a deity named Guṇḍeśvara, worshipped at a place called Kuṇḍuka or Koṇḍuka. The gift was apparently received on behalf of the deity by Sāmaveda-bhagavanta, son of Śrīmad Vallakonda (or Callakonda) Brahmātma bhagavanta (perhaps meaning Brahmātma Bhagavanta of Vallakonda). Sāmaveda Bhagavanta was probably a priest at the temple of Guṇḍeśvara. The grant is said to have been made by the king afterwards in the presence of the deity Guṇḍīśvara.[111] The endowment consisted of three villages—Nuṁkapāṭaka and Baḍavaḍā in Galela viṣaya

[108]Narayana Rao and Subba Rao, [336], p. 193. [109]Sircar, [479], pp. 17-18.

[110]The meaning of ll. 33-34, which seem to contain an additional stipulation regarding the grant is not clear. The lines read as follows: "...Punar=api Galelai dhānya-sahaśra(sra)kasya bhūmi[ḥ*] tad-viṣaye grām-ānugrāme tā(ta)ṇḍula-muraya-ghṛta-tāli Galelai polai khāṇḍī" (Fleet, [134], p. 12).

[111]According to Ramesan ([420], p. 163), Guṇḍeśvara may be identified with the deity now known as Kāmeśvara (Śiva), worshipped in an ancient Śiva temple at Galavalli.

(which perhaps may be identified with Galavalli, the find-spot[112]), and Cintaceḍu in Homva viṣaya. The boundaries of the gift land included an embankment (setu) and certain trikūṭas described as well-known to the people of the viṣaya. The Galavalli plates contain a later endorsement, which may be a forgery. This states that Śrī Devendravarman, lord of Kaliṅga, received blessings from Śiva and gifted two localities called Yegū/ Egu and Mahanta, collectively known as Giṇṭi and situated in Koṇḍaguḍi, to Yogātman and to the deity Guṇḍīśvara, Yogātman seems to have been the successor of Sāmaveda Bhagavanta as the priest of the temple.[113]

The Sudava plates of Devendravarman (no. 15) record a royal grant to Pataṅga-Śivācārya, the guru of the king, on the occasion of a dīkṣā[114] ceremony. Pataṅga-Śivācārya in turn is said to have made over half the land to Yāgeśvara-Bhaṭṭāraka (who seems to have been a deity), and the other half to his disciples and his disciples' disciples. The establishment in question seems to have been some sort of a temple-maṭha set-up. The endowment made in its favour consisted of Haduvaka grāma in Puṣyagiri-pañcāli viṣaya. The boundaries of the gift land are specified and included the following land-marks: the Guṇahārī trench; a kadamba tree; ciñca trees; a nimba tree; a sarjja tree; a timira tree at the embankment of the tank (taṭāka); the kāraka tree at the Piśāca embankment (Piśāc-āli); a bhallātaka tree at the western and northern bank of the tank; jambu trees; the boundary of Cullaveṇa (?); śālmalī trees; a kośamba tree; saptaparṇṇa (?); a big rock; a jambu tree with an ant-hill; a madhūka tree. Haduvaka has been identified with Sudava, the place where the plates were found.[115] The land was declared to have been given in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-pratiṣṭham), having been exempted from all taxes (sarva-karaiḥ parihṛtya); the residents were instructed to make over to the donees the appropriate dues such as the bhāga and bhoga.

The grant recorded in the Pattali plates (no. 29) of yuvarāja Rājendravarman, the son of Anantavarman, is said to have been made for the provision of bali (offerings to all creatures), naivedya (food for the deity), and caru (oblations to the ancestors) at the shrine of a goddess referred to as śrīmat-Kañcipoṭṭi-bhaṭṭārikā. The endowment consisted of Pāṭṭali grāma (referred to elsewhere as Pāḍali) in Kṛṣṇamaṭṭamva. The boundaries of this

[112]Sircar, [530], p. 189.

[113]According to Sircar ([530], p. 189), the endorsement may imply that Manujendra made the grant under the orders of his father, Devendravarman.

[114]'Dīkṣā' refers to the consecration for a religious ceremony.

[115]Ghoshal, [164], p. 63.

village are laid down, and included a boundary pillar (naidhānī-śilā), a bilva tree, trenches including the Bhuṭṭaka and Kāśimvi(bi) trenches, an āmra tree, and various rows of forest trees. The land was granted in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-pratiṣṭham) and exempted from all taxes (sarva-kara-bharaiḥ prihṛtya). The inscription records the additional grant of Kuśasaṅkira grāma in Dāpu-pañcālī and Arali grāma in Jāmvo(mbo)ṭṭa-pañcālī in favour of the same deity by Loka-mahādevī, Rājendravarman's mother.[116]

North Orissa

The Bhauma-Kara grants

The Terundia plate of Śubhākara (II) (no. 8) records a grant made by this king at the request of a queen in favour of six Brāhmaṇas who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra, were students of the Kāṇva śākhā of the Vājasaneya caraṇa, and residents of Taramaṇḍapa grāma. The grant is specifically stated to be for the purpose of the upkeep of maṭhas and maṇḍapas[117] established by the Brāhmaṇas in Taramaṇḍapa grāma. The endowment consisted of Lavāgaṇḍā grāma attached to Sulāntarakurbha viṣaya. The land was granted along with the taxes known as the uparikara (s-oparikara), along with the space above the ground (s-oddeśa), along with weavers, cowherds, brewers, and other subjects (sa-tantavāya-gokuṭa-śauṇḍik-ādi-prakṛtika), along with the outposts situated in the village, at landing or bathing places, and ferries, etc. (sa-kheṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadi-tara-sthān–ādi-gulmaka). It was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-varjita) and was not to be made the subject of another document, i.e. was inalienable (a-lekhanī-praveśatayā). The grant was made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālam) according to the bhīmicchidr-āpidhāna-nyāya (which implied all the rights of ownership such as to which a person who brought fallow land under cultivation for the first time became entitled), and was made tax-free according to the law of non-transferability governing permanent endowments (akṣaya-nīvi-dharma).

The Hindol plate of Śubhākaradeva (no. 9) records a royal grant made at the request of a person named Pulindasena, the income from which was

[116]Thus, three villages were endowed in favour of this deity.

[117]The term maṇḍapa may refer to an open hall or temporary shed (set up on festive occasions), a pavilion, tent, or temple (*SED*, p. 775). In architectural terms, a maṇḍapa is a hall, usually the one in front of the shrine of a temple (Dehejia, [111], p. 207). According to Pathak ([366], p. 50), certain lexicons give the meaning of maṇḍapa as "a shelter for persons in general."

to be divided in the following manner: half the income of the land was for snapana (ablution), gandha (sandal paste), puṣpa (flowers), dīpa (lamps), dhūpa (incense), naivedya (food offerings), bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (oblations to the ancestors), and pūjā (worship) for the god Vaidyanātha Bhaṭṭāraka enshrined in the temple of Pulindeśvara;[118] for clothes and food for the servants; and for repairs. The other half of the income of the land was for providing the Śaiva ācārya tapasvins with meals, garments, and medicines; and for the maintenance of the family of the dānapati[119] every day with six āḍhakas of husked rice at the cost of four hiraṇya paṇas. The endowment consisted of Noḍḍilo grāma (identified with Nandelo in the old Hindol State[120]) attached to Kāṅkavīrā viṣaya (identified with Karavira in Angul[121]). The boundaries of the gift land are specified, and included the following land-marks: a stone planted in the middle of the stream of the Dhānyamāda-joṭa; the bed of this joṭa; trees including a karañja tree; an aśvattha tree; the Bandha joṭa; the bed of the Śṛgāla joṭa (canal or stream); the stone planted under the vana-mandara tree; the Sīmā joṭikā; a mango tree at Paṅktāpollā; rocks including one placed at Tendrātaka; the bed of the Gaṅgeṭi joṭa (identified with Gaṅgeijoḍa in Hindol[122]). The terms of the grant were the same as those of the Terundia plate referred to above.

Two of the Bhauma-Kara inscriptions—the two sets of Baud plates of Tribhuvanamahādevī (nos. 15 and 16)—record endowments to a certain Śaiva temple establishment. The grants in question were made by the Bhauma-Kara queen at the request of Śaśilekhā, described as the moon of the Vrāgaḍi family of the Virāṭa lineage and wife of mahāmaṇḍalādhipati Maṅgaleśvara.[123] The endowment in the first case consisted of Koṭṭapurā grāma attached to Tamāla-khaṇḍa viṣaya (Tamalā being tentatively identified with Tamluk in Medinipur district[124]) along the Nanneśvara tala-pāṭaka. The land granted by the second inscription was Utthukākṣaṇḍa-kṣetraṁ (Utthukā khaṇḍa-kṣetraṁ ?) attached to Dakṣiṇakhaṇḍa viṣaya (tentatively identified with Dakinmal pargana in Contai subdivision[125]). The boundaries of the gift land are specified in the inscriptions. In the former inscription (no. 15), they included a śākhoṭa tree, various rocks, a

[118]The deity was apparently named after Pulindasena, at whose request the grant was made.

[119]On the dānapati, see *supra*, p. 254, n. 72.

[120]Misra, [318], p. 13.

[121]Misra, [318], p. 13.

[122]Misra, [318], p. 13.

[123]The title 'mahāmaṇḍalādhipati' may signify the governor of the territorial division known as the maṇḍala, or a feudatory who had some subordinate chiefs under him (see Sircar, [486], pp. 179-80).

[124]De, [107], p. 215.

[125]De, [107], p. 215.

goherya,[126] a nyagrodha tree, half the bed of a joṭa, Koṭṭapura ādhāra,[127] Naraka ādhāra, and a bilva tree. In the latter inscription (no. 16) the boundaries included the embankment (āli) of the field (kṣetra), the western embankment of Gaṇeśvara khātaka,[128] a rock, a śākhoṭaka tree, etc. The terms of the grant were similar to those of the Terundia plate. One share of the income of the land was assigned for the perpetual offering of snapana (ablution), gandha (sandal-paste), puṣpa (flowers), dīpa (lamps), dhūpa (incense), naivedya (food for the deity), bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), and pūjā (worship), etc. for the deity Umā-Maheśvara Bhaṭṭāraka in the temple built by Śaśikekhā in honour of her late father and named Nanneśvara after him. This share was also for the repairs of the temple, and for providing food, clothing, and medicines for the mahāvrata-dhārin tapasvins. The second share was for providing food and clothing to Brāhmaṇas. The third share was for the maintenance of the servants, and the fourth for the maintenance of the family of the dānapati. The term 'Mahāvrata' appears in various literary sources as an alternative for both the Kāpālika and Kālāmukha sects, as the mahāvrata penance is an important feature of both of these Śaiva sects.[129] On the basis of the reference to the Śaiva ascetics as mahāvrata-dhārins, it may be suggested that the establishment mentioned in the two Baud sets of Tribhuvana-mahādevī was affiliated to one of these two Śaiva sects.

The Cāmuṇḍā image incription of Vatsadevī (no. 1) records the installation of an image of the goddess Cāmuṇḍā, apparently in a temple in Jajpur, by the queen Vatsadevī. Vatsadevī is not known from any other source; she was probably the wife of one of the early Bhauma-Kara kings.

The Hamseśvara temple inscription (no. 3) of Mādhavīdevī, probably a wife of Śubhākara (I), records the building by the queen of a temple of the god Bhava (Śiva) under the name Mādhaveśvara. The deity was probably in the liṅgam form and seems to have been named after the queen. The inscription is fragmentary and the purport cannot be reconstructed in its entirety. Verse 4 of the inscription compares the temple with Śiva's abode on mount Kailāśa, and refers to the appointment of a Śaiva ācārya

[126]The meaning of this word is not certain. Perhaps it has something to do with 'goha' (from the root 'guh'), which, according to *SED*, (p. 369) means a hiding place, lair, or a secret place for hiding refuse or filth.

[127]Ādhāra could mean a dam, pond, reservoir, etc. (*SED*, p. 139).

[128]According to *SED*, (p. 337), the meanings of 'khātaka' include a ditch or a moat. According to Sircar ([486], p. 156), 'khātaka' probably means a canal and carries the same meaning as the Bengali 'khāt.'

[129]Lorenzen, [269], pp. 10, 73, 77f.

for conducting the worship of the god. Verse 5 refers to a vāpi (tank) that must have been excavated near the temple; this could be the almost dried-up tank on the banks of which the Hamseśvara temple stands. Verse 6 speads of a haṭṭa (market or fair), that seems to have been established or organized in the locality; it is possible that the income from it was assigned to the temple. Verses 7 and 8 refer to someone who did something in connection with the establishment in question after the queen had died.

The Dhauli inscription of the time of Śāntikara (no. 7) records the construction of a maṭha of Āghyaka-varāṭi (?) by a private individual.

PERIOD III: THE TENTH TO THE MID-TWELFTH CENTURY

North and Central Orissa

The grants of the early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

The Patna Museum plates of the time of the early Bhañja king Raṇabhañja (no. 6) record an endowment made by Śrī Vijyā (Vijayā ?), daughter of Rāṇaka Śrī Niyārnama (who has been identified with the Kadamba ruler Nīyārṃṇava); Vijyā may have been a wife of the Bhañja king Raṇabhañja. The beneficiary of the grant was the deity Vijaesara (Vijayeśvara), evidently Śiva in the liṅga form, named after Vijyā. The endowment consisted of Vā(Bā)hiravāḍā grāma attached to Dakhi(kṣi)ṇa-pali, on the banks of the Mahānadī river. The grant gave the donee the right to any hidden treasures and deposits found on the land (nidhy-upanidhi-sahita).

The grants of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

The Orissa Museum plates of the later Bhañja king Neṭṭabhañja (no. 9) record the grant of part of Gundapāṭaka village to a merchant named Ivadataka of the Kāśyapa gotra, belonging to Tribhuvanapura in Varendri (in Bengal). Line 38 of the inscription may refer to an additional grant of land in the same village to the deity Puruṣottama.[130]

The Baripada stone inscriptions

The beneficiaries of at least two of the Baripada stone inscriptions were deities, although the careless engraving and the damaged nature of the epigraphs makes the reading of the relevant portions problematic. Accord-

[130]Panigrahi, [360], p. 16. According to Panigrahi's reading of line 25 of the inscription, the land gifted to the merchant Ivata was part of the king's 'svadeśa,' i.e. personal domain. The reliability of this reading may be questioned.

ing to D.C. Sircar's reading of the inscription of Dhruvarāja, the grant in question was made for the bali (offerings to all creatures) and naivedya (food offerings) for a deity whose name is not mentioned in the text, probably because the inscription was exhibited in the shrine of the deity concerned.[131] As the stone bearing the inscription seems to have belonged to the temple of Bhīmā or Bhīmeśvarī in the forest adjoining Pedagadhi village, Sircar suggests that the deity to whom Dhruvarāja's grant refers may have been this very goddess.[132] The endowment consisted of Va[na]grāma, Arana(ṇa)padā, and Bharāḍi[hu], constituted into an agrahāra. According to Rajaguru, however, this inscription records a grant made by a ruler named Dhruvarāja deva for the purpose of the bali and naivedya of the goddess Bharāḍi of Arachupadā; he reads no place-names in the text.[133]

The stone bearing the inscription of Dhruvarāja also bears two other inscriptions. According to Sircar's reading, one of these inscriptions appears to record a grant of land by Kumāravarmarāja. Sircar tentatively reads the names of the two gift-villages as Duśākhi in Dūga... rayeśa and Ḍaṭiā in Loṣṭhaja... rya.[134] According to Rajaguru's reading, however, this inscription records a grant made by Kumāra Dharmarāja alias Durgārya in favour of the deity Pināki pati[135] for the fulfilment of his (the donor's) desires.

The third Baripada inscription seems to record a grant made by a Bhañja king (whose name is indistinct)[136] in favour of the goddess Durgā (Rajaguru reads the name of the deity as Līleśabhadrā Durgā[137]). Sircar suggests that this goddess may be the same as the modern Bhīmā of Pedagadhi, and that the endowment consisted of three localities named Toler[n]ā(rṇā), Bhu[j]ā, and Rai. . . .[138] According to Rajaguru's reading, the gift land lay on the border of Maḍārdā viṣaya.[139]

The Somavaṁśī grants

The Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the time of Udyotakeśari (no. 27) records the erection of a temple dedicated to the deity Brahmeśvara in the liṅga form, along with two cāruśālā temples, at a place called Siddhatīrtha at Ekāmra (Bhubaneswar) by Kolāvatī, the mother of the king. Some beautiful maidens were also dedicated to lord Śiva by her. This seems to be a reference to devadāsīs. It may be pointed out that female musicians

[131]Sircar, [525], p. 83. [132]Sircar, [525], p. 83. [133]Rajaguru, [398], p. 179.
[134]Sircar, [525], p. 83. [135]Pināki is one of the names of Śiva.
[136]Rajaguru ([398], p. 179) reads the name of the king as Śatṛbhañja.
[137]Rajaguru ([398], p. 179). [138]Sircar, [525], p. 83. [139]Rajaguru, [398], p. 179.

and dancers in fact occupy a prominent position in the sculptural programme of the Brahmeśvara temple.[140]

The beneficiary of the Liṅgarāja temple inscription of Vīravarakeśarin (no. 33) was the god Kṛttivāsa, styled Siddha-Lambodara. The grant was made in order to provide for the requirements for the god's autumnal worship every year. The endowment consisted of sixty-five units of land (pañca-ṣaṣṭi bhūmi)[141] in Citrā and [Gajisyā] villages in Cakralambota viṣaya.

The Sonepur plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya (no. 7) record a grant made by this king to the Kamalavana merchants' association (śrī-Kamalavana-vaṇik-sthāna) which hailed from Khadirapadra and resided in or had its base at Suvarṇṇapura. The merchants' association gave over the village, having registered it in a deed to the temples (deva-kula) of Śrī Keśava and Śrī Āditya Bhaṭṭāraka, for the performance of bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), naivedya (food for the deity), and for the repair of wear and tear to the temple. The land in question was Gottaikelā grāma attached to Luputurā-khaṇḍa in Kosala (i.e. Dakṣiṇa Kosala). Gottaikelā has been identified with Gotarkela, about three miles from Sonepur town.[142] Luputura has been identified by B.C. Mazumdar with Nuptara in the ex-Sonepur state[143] and tentatively by Hira Lal with Lepta, six miles south-east of Bolangir.[144] The land was given along with hidden treasures and deposits (sa-nidhi s-opanidhi), along with all the taxes known as the uparikara or along with the uparikara and all other taxes (sarv-oparikara-kar-ādāna-sameta), along with mango and madhūka trees (s-āmra-madhūka), together with pits and barren spots (sa-gartt-oṣara), and along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala). It was to be free from all

[140]Donaldson, [119], p. 325. According to Donaldson ([119], pp. 325-26), before the Brahmeśvara temple, except for a few instances in the Mukteśvara temple, scenes of music and dance focused almost exclusively on Śiva—depicting him in his aspects of Ardhanārīśvara, Naṭarāja, and Vīṇādhara-mūrti, or as Hara serenading Pārvatī, or as Vīrabhadra accompanying the Saptamāṭṛkās—or in occasional images of Sarasvatī or Gaṇeṣa. The Brahmeśvara temple, on the other hand, depicts female figures holding or playing musical instruments such as the vīṇā and the flute. Female musicians and dancers also make their appearance for the first time on the balusters filling the gavākṣa windows. According to Donaldson while the Brahmeśvara temple inscription does not indicate whether the women dedicated to the deity danced before the latter, the image on the gavākṣa-maṇḍana of the jagamohana which depicts a female dancer holding a pīḍha roof with her raised left hand suggests that this was the case, the dancing probably taking place within the jagamohana.

[141]The name of the unit is not specified.

[142]Chhabra, [71], p. 250. Chhabra quotes a Mr. Sircar, at that time the Secretary of Sonepur state, on this point.

[143]Mazumdar, [295], p. 101.

[144]Hiralal, [189], p. 201.

obstructions (sarva-bādhā-vivarjita). The endowment was declared to have been made in perpetuity (ā-candra-tārak-ārka-kṣiti-samakāl-opabhog-ārtham) and the residents were instructed to make over to the beneficiary dues such as the bhoga, bhāga, and hiraṇya.

South and North Orissa

The grants of the imperial Gaṅgas and their feudatories (inscription nos. 41-77)

The beneficiaries of the Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta (no. 53) were five hundred Brāhmaṇas. The endowment consisted of Tāmaraceru grāma along with Cikhalī-vāṭaka (i.e. the hamlet of Cikhali).[145] The inscription also indicates that two hundred units of land yielding two hundred murakas (murajas) of grain or rice (dhānya) were given to the deity Koṭīśvaradeva, for bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), naivedya (food for the deity), dīpa (lamps), pūjā (worship), etc. The resident Brāhmaṇas were instructed to effect immediately any repairs that were necessary in the temple. According to Sten Konow, Koṭīśvara was evidently the name of the temple of Śiva at Tāmaraceru.[146] The endowment was said to have been made in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālaṁ yāvat). It was gifted along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala) and was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-vivarjitam). The land gifted to the deity Koṭīśvara is said to have been given in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-paryyanta) and was to be free from hindrances (nir-virodha).

The Visakhapatnam plates of Coḍagaṅga (no. 61) record a royal endowment to the deity Rājarājeśvara residing in Reṁgujeḍ grāma, for the performance of bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), naivedya (food for the deity) and utsava (the celebration of festivals). The endowment consisted of Cākivāḍa grāma in Saṁvā viṣaya. The land was granted in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālaṁ yāvat), along with water and land (sa-jala-sthala), and was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-vivarjitam).

The Murupaka plates of Coḍagaṅga (no. 63) record a royal endowment of land to provide for the performance of pūjā (worship), nṛtya (dance), gīta (singing), and vādya (music) for the deity Narendreśvara, and for the repair

[145]It may be noted that Tāmaraceru was the name of the village granted to three hundred Brāhmaṇas in the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman, as well as to certain Brāhmaṇas in the Chicacole plates of Indravarman (Gaṅga year 128).

[146]Konow, [240], p. 95, n. 2.

of the vimāna (the structure surmounting the shrine) of the temple. The protection of the temple (deva-sthāna) was entrusted to five Brāhmaṇas in the village: Cāmenaśarmman, son of Dārapaśarmman, and belonging to the Bhāradvāja gotra; Remana, son of Dāmodara; Nāvana, son of Prolaya (of the Abhya kula ?); Ayitana, son of Pinnapi; and Gomana, son of Bāleka. These five were probably priests of the temple. The endowment consisted of Murupāka grāma in Eraḍa viṣaya. The boundaries of the gift village included the following land-marks: a rock; Gumuru vāsaka (identified with Gulumuru village in Patapatam taluk of Srikakulam district[147]) at the trikūṭa of the boundaries of Murupāka and Napiṭavāṭanavara; a rock at the trikūṭa of Murupāka and Lovanavara villages; various other rocks; groups of tintriṇī trees; various ant-hills; a rock at the trikūṭa of Murupāka, Leñjaraha, and Śrīmastaka villages;[148] a row of forest trees. The terms of the grant were the same as those of the above-mentioned inscription (no. 61).

The Sellada plates of Coḍagaṅga (no. 64) state that the mādara-manavarttikā[149] of the endowment was given to Komaracandra, son of Nannipoṅga, and grandson of Vallapoṅgu, a resident of Cā(Ca)talā grāma. The grant was for providing for the performance of pūjā (worship), naivedya (food for the deity), dīpa (lamps), etc. for a deity who appears to have been a goddess (bhagavatī) established in the village (probably Sellada), and also for the repair of dilapidation in the temple. The land gifted was Sellada grāma (identified with Sailada village in the old Parlakimedi Zamindari[150]) in Rūpavarttani viṣaya. The terms of the grant were the same as those of inscription no. 61.

The Bhubaneswar inscription of Coḍagaṅga (no. 67), which was engraved on the east wall of the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar, is fragmentary and therefore difficult to reconstruct. According to Sircar's reading, it appears to record the grant of a perpetual lamp, containing one hundred wicks and fed by twenty-four karaṅkas of oil in favour of the god Kīrttivāsa (Kṛttivāsa or Śiva worshipped in the Liṅgarāja temple).[151] The lamp seems to have been placed in a structure constructed in the Liṅgarāja temple compound by Coḍagaṅga, who described in the inscription as one

[147]Rajaguru, [404], 3, pt. 1: 32, n. 2.

[148]It may be noted that trikūṭa here refers to three villages.

[149]The meaning of the term 'mādara-manavarttika' is not clear. Gai ([142], p. 43) suggests that it could mean maintenance, support, or allowance.

[150]Rajaguru, [404], 3, pt. 1: 33, n. 1.

[151]Sircar, [475], pp. 31-32; inscription no. 1. Sircar explains ([475], p. 31) that a karaṅka is a small pot usually made of coconut-shell, and is sometimes used to measure liquids.

devoted to the worship of Śiva. The inscription also refers to a devakarmin (priest ?) whose name begins with Śrī-Rāma...; his connection with the grant is not clear. (The name Gautama occurs in line 8; it is not certain whether it refers to the name of a person or his gotra). K.C. Panigrahi's interpretation of this inscription is quite different; according to him, in addition to recording the provision of twenty-four kucāṅgas of oil for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the shrine of the deity Kīrttivāsa, it also records the grant of a village, perhaps named Deva[dha*]rmmaśrī, by Coḍagaṅgadeva for the purpose of maintaining the lamp.[152]

The Jagannātha temple inscription of Coḍagaṅga (no. 70) seems to record the grant of Malada village for the provision for the burning of twenty perpetual lamps in the temple of Puruṣottama. In addition, an amount of nine māḍhas (a type of coin) were donated to maintain the cows for the supply of ghee for the temple. This is the first stone inscription of Coḍagaṅga's to be found in the precincts of the Jagannātha temple at Puri.

The Boddapadu plates of Vajrahasta (no. 51) record a grant of land made over to the deity Jaleśvara as a bhoga (an object of enjoyment). The person responsible for the grant seems to have been someone called Erayama. The inscription states that the mādara-manavarttika[153] was given to Erayama, son of Māvaya and his wife Kaṁcapā, grandson of Erayama of a Vaiṣya family ("Vesyā-gotr-otpannaḥ"). It seems that Erayama paid some money and received Avareṁga village from the king as mādara-manavarttika for the creation of a bhoga (an object of enjoyment) for the god Jaleśvara. Lines 52-53 of the inscription state that a manavarttikā in the same village was given by Erayama to the mahākṣaśālin Vallemoja, a metal-worker (suvarṇa-loha-kārin), whose name appears at the end of the inscription as the engraver of the plates. The gift village, Avareṁga, is said to have been situated in Koluvarttani viṣaya. The boundaries of the gift land are specified and included the following land-marks: nimba trees, ant-hills, rows of forest-trees, tintriṇīka trees, trikūṭas, trenches including the Arjuna trench, an embankment (setu), and an arjuna tree. Avareṁga has been identified with modern Avalingi, one mile east of Boddapadu, the find-spot of the plates, while Koluvarttani may be identified with the whole or part of Srikakulam taluk.[154] The land was given in perpetuity (ā-candr-ārka-kṣiti-sama-kālaṁ yāvat) along with land and water (sa-jala-sthala), and was to be free from all oppressions (sarva-pīḍā-vivarjitam).

[152]Panigrahi, [361], p. 7.
[153]This may mean maintenance, support, or allowance.
[154]Gai, [142], p. 43.

Several inscriptions belonging to the reigns of imperial Gaṅga kings record the provision of perpetual lamps at temples by members of the royal family. Thus, the Bhubaneswar inscription of Pramāḍi (no. 73) records the gift of a perpetual lamp to the god Kedāreśvara by Rājan Pramāḍi, the anuja (younger brother) of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. The Mukteśvara temple inscription (no. 74) records the gift of a perpetual lamp, evidently for the deity in the Mukteśvara temple, by Pracarī Mahādevī, one of Coḍagaṅga's queens. A fragmentary inscription at Bhubaneswar (no. 75) records that Pramāḍi's son gifted a perpetual lamp to the god Kedāreśvara a few years after the date of Pramāḍi's own gift.

The Dirghasi inscription of Vanapati (who seems to have been a commander-in-chief of Rājarāja's forces) (no. 56) records the setting up of a dancing-hall (nāṭya-śālā) by Vanapati in front of the temple of Durgā in the town of Dirghāsi, and also the grant of a perpetual lamp for the same goddess. The Telugu portion of the inscription refers to the building of the maṇḍapa (hall) in front of the temple of Bhagavatī (Durgā) at Dirghāsi and the grant of the perpetual lamp. It adds that Padmāvatī, the lotus-eyed wife of Vanapati, joyfully placed a lamp on the other side, to last as long as the earth, the sun, and the moon. The inscription concludes with an exhortation that Mahiṣamathani (Mahiṣamardinī, i.e. Durgā), described as the embodiment of the sky, the earth, the moon, the water, the fire, and the air, grant the donees the fruits of iṣṭā-pūrtā.[155]

The Alagum inscription of the time of Coḍagaṅga (no. 71) records the purchase and subsequent gift by Kāmāṇḍi (perhaps a governor of a territorial unit) of a hala of land styled Kapāleśvara in Alagumma village (identified with Alagum, the find-spot of the inscription[156]) in favour of the maṭha of the deity Gartteśvara. This was partly to provide for an ascetic named Bhij or Abhij, possibly living in the maṭha, three pravarttas of paddy being allotted for the provision of the naivedya (food offerings) for the god

[155] According to Kane ([224], 2, pt. 2: 843), in the *Ṛg Veda*, the term 'iṣṭā-pūrta' signifies the cumulative spiritual merit accruing to man due to his performance of sacrifices and charitable acts. Kane (p. 844) cites *Aparārka* who quotes the *Mahābhārata's* definition of iṣṭa and pūrta. Here, iṣṭa is said to consist in that which is offered in the single (i.e. gṛhya) fire or in the three śrauta fires, and also in gifts made inside the vedī in the śrauta rituals, while pūrta includes the dedication of deep wells (vāpī), oblong large wells (kūpa), tanks (taḍāga), temples (dev-āyatana), the distribution of food, and the maintaining of public gardens. *Aparārka* also quotes *Nārada*, who describes iṣṭa as consisting in honouring a guest and performing the vaiśvadeva, and pūrta in the dedication of tanks, wells, temples, places for the distribution of food, and gardens, and gifts made at the time of eclipses, or on the sun's passage to a new zodiacal sign, or on the twelfth day of a month.

[156] Sircar, [468], p. 47.

Gartteśvara. Further, a sum of one hundred cūrṇīs and five purāṇas was deposited with the local adhikārins (perhaps the superintendents of the temple), who are described as maintaining the palli-deva (the village deity, perhaps referring to Gartteśvara), for providing a perpetual lamp in the temple of Gartteśvara.

The inscriptions of the reigns of the imperial Gaṅga kings include a series of records of private donations to temples. Thus, the Gara stone inscription of the time of Devendravarma (no. 59) records the gift of fifty cows by Peddallu Gokana nāyaka on the occasion of the Uttarāyana for the establishing of a perpetual lamp to the god Nārāyaṇadeva at Gāra, in the seventh year of the reign of Devendravarman. The stone inscription in the Rāmacaṇḍī temple at Tekkali records the installation of an image of Rāmacaṇḍī at Sanyāsi-tīrtha in Vijayapuri in the reign of Devendravarman; this appears to be a private inscription. The Puri inscription of the time of Coḍagaṅga (no. 66) gives the details of certain private investments (of gold) made with merchants for the provision of a 'chāyā-dīpa' meant to be a perpetual lamp to burnt before the deity Mārkaṇḍeśvara (the donors include three pujārīs—priests—of this and other gods).

Summary

The total number of royal grants to Jainas or Jaina establishments during the entire period under review (the fourth to the mid-twelfth century) is only one (the Banpur plates of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja Mānabhīta); the grant in question seems to have actually been made by the king's wife or mother. In addition to this, there is the record of the installation by the Somavaṁśī king Udyotakeśarī of Jaina images in the Khaṇḍagiri caves. The number of Buddhist establishments that benefited from royal endowments in Orissa between the fourth and mid-twelfth century do not number more than five (two in Period I, two in Period II, and one in Period III). Of these, the grant recorded in the Mallar plates (no. 10) of Pāṇḍuvaṁśī Mahāśivagupta was made at the request of the king's uncle and that recorded in the two sets of Talcher plates (nos. 13, 14) of the Bhauma-Kara king Śivakara at the request of a feudatory—rāṇaka Vinītatuṅga. Thus, notwithstanding the large number of Buddhist and Jaina sites in Orissa, few display a connection with royal patronage.

In comparison with the large number of land grants made by Orissan kings to Brāhmaṇas during the period from the fourth to the mid-twelfth century, the number of royal grants (specifically grants by kings, not by members of the royal family) to deities and temples during this period are very few. In Period I of the chronological scheme adopted in this study

(fourth to seventh century), the total number of royal grants to deities/temples is six.[157] Of these, the deity Nārāyaṇa was the beneficiary in the Narasingapalli plates of the Gaṅga king Hastivarman, Viṣṇu in the Podagarh stone inscription of the Nala king Skandavarman, Śiva styled as Īśāneśvara in the Lodhia plates of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta, Rāmeśvara in the Santa-Bomvalli plates of the Gaṅga king Indravarman, and the temple-maṭha establishment of Maṇināgeśvara in the Kanas plates of Lokavigraha and Bhānudatta. Two of the grants were in favour of Vaiṣṇava deities while three appear to have been made in favour of Śiva.[158] It may be noted that four of these five grants were made by kings at the request of certain individuals: the Narasingapalli grant of the Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga king Hastivarman (no. 3) at the request of a bhogika named Buddha-mañci, the Santa-Bommali grant of Indravarman of the same dynasty (no. 6) at the request of the talavaradeva-bhogika (or talavara-devabhogika), and the Lodhia grant of Pāṇḍuvaṁśī Mahāśivagupta (no. 15) at the request of Śūlapāṇi, a disciple of a Śaiva ācārya. The actual donors of the grant recorded in the Kanas plate of Lokavigraha were certain viṣaya-level officials. The evidence suggests a degree of initiative and influence of land-holders, feudatories, administrative functionaries, and private individuals in the phenomenon of royal endowments to temples during Period I.

In Period II (seventh to tenth century), the total number of grants made by kings to deities/temples is seven. The beneficiaries were as follows: the deities Mādhava and Svayambhūkeśvara in the Indian Museum plates of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman (the temples were apparently constructed at the initiative of the king's daughter-in-law); the deity Dharmeśvara in the Vishakhapatnam plates of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman; Vaidyanātha in the Hindol plate of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākaradeva; an establishment of Umā-Māheśvara in the two sets of Baud plates of the Bhauma-Kara queen Tribhuvanamahādevī; an unnamed village-god (grāma-deva) in the Chicacole plates of the Gaṅga king Satyavarman; and Guṇḍeśvara in the Galavalli plates of the Gaṅga king

[157]Two inscriptions of Period I—the Asanapat inscription of Śatrubhañja and the Rajim stone inscription of the Nala king Vilāsatuṅga—record the building of (not grants to) temples by kings, the former probably of a Śaiva temple and the latter of a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu. It may be noted that the Podagarh inscription of Skandavarman records the building of a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu as well as an endowment made in favour of the temple establishment. These references to the actual building of temples by kings are noteworthy.

[158]The 'īśvara' suffix in the name usually indicates that the deity in question was Śiva in the liṅga form.

Manujendravarman. The break-up of the beneficiaries is as follows: one grant to a Vaiṣṇava deity in conjunction with Śiva, five grants to Śaiva temples, and one grant in favour of a village deity. Of these seven grants made by kings during this period, five were made at the request of certain individuals: the Vishakhapatnam grant of Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga Devendravarman (no. 21) at the request of the king's uncle, Dharmakhedi; the Terundia grant of Bhauma-Kara Śubhākara (no. 8) at the request of one of the king's wives; the Hindol grant of Bhauma-Kara Śubhākara (no. 9) at the request of a person named Pulindasena; and the two sets of Baud grants of Bhauma-Kara Tribhuvanamahādevī (nos. 15 and 16) at the request of a wife of a mahāmaṇḍalādhipati. The Pattali plates of Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga Rājendravarman (no. 29) indicate the initiative of the heir apparent and the queen in making the grant. The evidence suggests the influence and initiative of members of the royal family and of the families of feudatories in the phenomenon of royal endowments to temples during Period II.

The number of endowments made by kings to deities/temples in Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century) is nine. Of these, the Liṅgarāja temple inscription of the Somavaṁśī king Vīravarakeśarī records a royal grant in favour of the deity Kṛttivāsa (Śiva) styled Siddha-Lambodara, the Madras Museum plates of the imperial Gaṅga king Vajrahasta in favour of the deity Koṭīśvaradeva, the Visakhapatnam plates of the imperial Gaṅga king Coḍagaṅga in favour of the deity Rājarājeśvara, the Murupaka plates of Coḍagaṅga in favour of the deity Narendreśvara, the Bhubaneswar inscription of Coḍagaṅga in favour of the deity Kṛttivāsa, the Jagannātha temple inscription of the imperial Gaṅga king Coḍagaṅga in favour of the temple of Puruṣottama at Puri, the Baripada inscription of Dhruvarāja in favour of an unnnamed deity (perhaps the goddess Bhīmā or Bhīmeśvarī), the Baripada inscription of a Bhañja king in favour of the goddess Durgā, and the Sellada plates of Coḍagaṅga in favour of an unnamed village goddess.—The break-up is as follows: one grant to a Vaiṣṇava temple, five to Śaiva temples, and three in favour of goddesses. None of these royal grants are said to have been made at any person's request, and this seems to indicate an increase in Period III in the direct initiative and involvement of the king in making grants in favour of temples. It may also be noted that of the nine royal grants of this period, five are clustered towards the end of the period under review and belong to the reign of the imperial Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. Two of the temple endowed by Coḍagaṅga were situated in Bhubaneswar, close to the new political centre of the Gaṅga empire.

The endowments made by kings in favour of deities/temples in Period I consisted of pieces of land within villages as well as entire single villages. In Period II, the grants were of whole villages, in many cases several of them. In Period III, a few of the grants consisted of pieces of land within villages, but most of them were of entire villages. In addition to the endowment of land, there is the reference in the Jagannātha temple inscription of Coḍagaṅga to the gift of money (nine māḍhas) in favour of a temple establishment. The terms of the grants to temples were similar to those associated with grants to Brāhmaṇas.

Apart from endowments made to deities/temples by kings, some inscriptions record temple grants made by feudatories/subordinates of these kings and certain prominent functionaries. Such inscriptions usually cite the name and genealogy of the overlord or the ruling authority. For instance, in Period I, the Senakapat inscription of the time of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Śivagupta Bālārjuna records an endowment of land to a Śaiva temple establishment by Durgarakṣita, a subordinate of the king. In Period III, two inscriptions fall into this category: the Dirghasi inscription records the setting up of a dancing-hall in front of a temple of Durgā and the endowment of two perpetual lamps in favour of the same deity by Vanapati (who seems to have been a commander-in-chief of the forces of the imperial Gaṅga king Rājarāja) and his wife; the Alagum inscription records the purchase and subsequent gift of a piece of land in favour of a maṭha of the god Gartteśvara by Kāmāṇḍi, possibly the governor of a territorial unit under the imperial Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. This inscription also records a monetary investment made by Kāmāṇḍi for the provision of a perpetual lamp for the deity.

A number of inscriptions record grants made in favour of deities/temples by members of the royal family. In Period I, there is only one example of such a grant—the Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta, which records an endowment in favour of a Vaiṣṇava temple establishment by Vāsaṭā, the king's mother. In Period II, there are two inscriptions recording grants made in favour of deities/temples by members of the royal family. The first is the Pattali grant, made in favour of a goddess named Kañcipoṭṭi by the crown-prince (yuvarāja) Rājendra-varman; the endorsement at the end of the inscription records an additional grant by Lokamahādevī, the mother of the prince. The second is the Ham-seśvara temple inscription of Mādhavīdevī, probably a wife of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākara, which records the building of and benefactions (not including the grant of land) made in favour of a temple of Mādhaveśvara. Reference may also be made to the Cāmuṇḍā image inscription which

records the installation of an image of Cāmuṇḍā, apparently in a temple at Jajpur, probably by a Bhauma-Kara queen Vatsadevī. In Period III, the number of benefactions made by members of the royal family to deities/ temples increase. The Patna Musem plates of the time of Raṇabhañja, one of the early Bhañja kings of Khiñjali-maṇḍala, record a grant to the deity Vijayeśvara by the daughter of a Kadamba king and possibly a wife of Raṇabhañja. The Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the time of the Somavaṁśī king Udyotakeśarī records the construction of the Brahmeśvara temple by Kolāvatī, the mother of the king (this is not a grant). Among the inscriptions of the imperial Gaṅgas, a Bhubaneswar inscription records the gift of a perpetual lamp to the god Kedāreśvara by Pramāḍi, the younger brother of Coḍagaṅga, the Mukteśvara temple inscription the gift of a perpetual lamp for the deity in the Mukteśvara temple by Pracarī-mahādevī, one of Coḍagaṅga's queens, and the fragmentary Bhubaneswar inscription the grant of a perpetual lamp for the god Kedāreśvara by the son of Pramāḍi.[159]

It may be noted in passing that private endowments to temple establishments usually consisted of the provision of flowers or perpetual lamps for the deity. Certain inscriptions belonging to the reigns of the imperial Gaṅgas record private grants of cows as well as monetary investments to provide for perpetual lamps for deities. There are two instances, however, of private individuals obtaining land, in one case apparently through gift, in the other through purchase, in order to grant it to a religious establishment; both instances come from Period III. The Sonepur plates of the Somavaṁśī king Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya record the grant of a village by the king to the Kamalavana merchants' association, which in turn made over the land to the temples of the deities Keśava and Āditya. The Boddapadu plates of the imperial Gaṅga Vajrahasta seem to indicate that an individual named Eramaya bought a certain village from the king and converted it into a bhoga (an object of enjoyment) for the god Jaleśvara.

Some of the inscriptions provide a glimpse of the activities and personnel associated with temple establishments. The conventional references that occur are to the ceremonial performance of bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), and sattra (charitable feeding), and the provision for naivedya (food offerings for the deity), dīpa (lamps),

[159]This list is by no means complete; it does not include the large number of Telugu inscriptions recording benefactions made in favour of temple establishments in Andhra Pradesh by members of the royal family during the reigns of the imperial Gaṅga kings.

and pūjā (worship), at the shrine of the deity. The Lodhia plates of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta refer to dancing and music at the Śaiva temple which benefited from this grant. The Senakapat inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna refers to a Śaiva ascetic as the custodian of the temple concerned, and also refers to the details of the activities of the ascetics associated with the temple. The Hindol plate of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākaradeva refers to the offering of snapana (ablution), gandha (sandal-paste), puṣpa (flowers), dīpa (lamps), dhūpa (incense), naivedya (food), bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), and pūjā (worship) to the deity Vaidyanātha; it also refers to servants employed in the temple, Śaiva ascetics (Śaiva ācārya tapasvins), and to the dānapati, all of whom were provided for by the grant. The two sets of Baud plates of the Bhauma-Kara queen Tribhuvanamahādevī refer to offerings of snapana (ablutions), gandha (sandal paste), puṣpa (flowers), dīpa (lamps), dhūpa (incense), naivedya (food offerings for the deity), bali (offerings to all creatures), caru (offerings to the ancestors), pūjā (worship) etc. to the deity Umā-Maheśvara; they also refer to mahā-vrata-dhārin ascetics associated with the temple, as also to Brāhmaṇas, servants, and the dānapati, all of whom were provide for by the grants. The Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the Somavaṁśī king Udyotakeśarī appears to refer to devadāsīs associated with the temple of the deity Brahmeśvara (Śiva in the liṅga form). The Murupaka plates of the imperial Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga speak of the performance of pūjā (worship), nṛtya (dancing), gīta (singing), and vādya (music) at the shrine of the deity Narendreśvara. The references in the temple context to bali, caru, and sattra are noteworthy. The process whereby these ceremonials, which constitute three of the five daily sacrifices or pañca-mahāyajñas enjoined on the twice-born, moved into the temple context (also being referred to in relation to Buddhist and Jaina establishments) is not clear. Although the terms bali, caru and sattra have been defined throughout the course of this study according to their connotations in the pañca-mahāyajña context, it is possible that they had a different meaning in the temple context, although what this may have been is far from clear.

The references to maṭhas in the inscriptions may be noted, as maṭhas must have formed important centres for the dissemination of sectarian religion. In the inscriptions of Period I, there are the references in the Kanas plates of Lokavigraha and Bhānudatta to the maṭha of Maṇināgeśvara at Caikāmbaka or Ekāmbaka, with which were associated Brāhmaṇas of the Maitrāyaṇīya school of the *Yajurveda*. In the former case, the actual donors were certain viṣaya-level officials who obtained permission to

make the gift from the king, while in the second case the donor was the king himself. Among the inscriptions of Period II, the Terundia plate of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākara records the grant of land to certain Brāhmaṇas for the maintenance of maṭhas and maṇḍapas in their native village of Taramaṇḍapa; the Dhauli inscription of the time of the Bhauma-Kara king Śāntikara records the construction of a maṭha of Āghyaka-varāṭi by a private individual; and the Sudava plates of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman record a grant made by the king to his guru, who in turn made over half the land to a deity named Yāgeśvara and to his own disciples and his disciples' disciples, indicating some maṭha-type establishment. Among the inscriptions of Period III, the Alagum inscription of the time of the imperial Gaṅga king Coḍagaṅga records a grant by Kāmāṇḍi, perhaps a governor of a territorial unit, in favour of a maṭha of the deity Gartteśvara.— Thus, of the inscriptions recording the establishment of or grants to maṭhas, two record the direct grant of by a king to a maṭha establishment, one records a grant to a maṭha by viṣaya-level officials, one is a grant made by a person who was perhaps a governor, and one records the private establishment of a maṭha.

Some of the inscriptions associate Brāhmaṇas with the temple establishments that were the beneficiaries of endowments; some of these Brāhmaṇas must have performed priestly functions. In this context, reference may be made to following inscriptions: the Indian Museum plates of the Śvetaka Gaṅga king Indravarman, wherein the donees are the deities Mādhava and Svayambhūkeśvara as well as certain Brāhmaṇas who are named in the inscription (Period I); the Visakhapatnam plates of the time of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman, wherein the vipra Somācārya is described as the superintendent of the shrine of the deity Dharmeśvara (Period II); the Galavalli plates of the Gaṅga Manujendravarman, wherein the gift to the deity Guṇḍeśvara is said to have been received by Sāmaveda-bhagavanta (Period II); the Terundia plate of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākara which refers to the grant of land to certain Brāhmaṇas for the upkeep of maṭhas and maṇḍapas (temples) in their native village; the two sets of Baud plates of the Bhauma-Kara queen Tribuvanamahādevī, which assign a portion of the income of the gift land for providing food and clothing to Brāhmaṇas; the Madras Museum plates of the imperial Gaṅga king Vajrahasta, which record a grant to the deity Koṭīśvara and instruct the resident Brāhmaṇas to immediately effect any repairs that may have been needed in the temple; and the Murupaka plates of the imperial Gaṅga king Coḍagaṅga, which refer to the protection of the endowment to the deity Narendreśvara (the deva-sthāna) being entrusted to five Brāhmaṇas

in the village. Individuals associated with the temple establishments are not in all cases, however, clearly Brāhmaṇas: this is the case in the Bangalore plates of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman (no. 25), the Chicacole plates of the same king (no. 26), the Chicacole plates of the Gaṅga king Satyavarman (no. 32), and the Hamseśvara temple inscription of the Bhauma-Kara queen Mādhavīdevī (no. 3).

Chapter VI

Conclusions

The earliest indigenous kingdoms of Orissa arose as a consequence of internal developments on the political, economic and social fronts as well as the impetus of several phases of rule under metropolitan states—the Maurya, Kuṣāṇa, and Gupta. While there is evidence of secondary state formation in Orissa in the early centuries of the Christian era (the kingdoms of Khāravela and Mahārāja Gaṇa), state formation in the post-fourth century period was more intense and sustained. It is difficult to reconstruct on the basis of the available epigraphic evidence the details of the processes of internal change which made possible the transition to statehood and the political integration of kingdoms. However, epigraphic evidence suggests that royal grants, more specifically, grants to Brāhmaṇas, which were an important component of royal policy throughout the period under review (AD 300-1147), played a major role in these processes in this part of the Indian subcontinent.

While the geographical distribution of the early kingdoms was quite dispersed, there seem to have been certain areas of concentrated development around the river valleys and deltas—those of the Vaitarani, Brahmani, Mahanadi, Rishikulya, Vamsadhara, Nagavali, and their tributaries. Political development in the interior highland regions occurred later than in the deltaic and riverine tracts, and was particularly noticeable after the ninth-tenth century. The agricultural resource potential of the riverine tracts was no doubt an important factor in their early political development. Control over these tracts was probably also an important factor in the dynamics of lineage movement, forming an impetus to conquest. The evidence confirms Kulke's suggestion that the riverine tracts constituted important nuclear areas of sub-regional power in the early phases of state formation, some of these areas becoming, in the later period, the bases of regional kingdoms in Orissa.[1] Kulke views these nuclear areas as playing

[1]Kulke, [257], pp. 126-27. As pointed out in the Introduction, the idea of 'nuclear areas' has been used by Burton Stein in relation to agrarian integration in South India ([552], pp. 175-216). According to Stein, during the Pallava and Cōḷa period, the nuclear areas

an important role in the process of political development and as constituting centres of integration of tribal culture, which was particularly strong (and is so even today) in Orissa.[2]

The epigraphic sources do not provide much in the way of direct evidence concerning the tribal element in the history of ancient and early medieval Orissa. The names of certain dynasties which seem to suggest tribal origins, the reference in the Korni and Vizagapatam plates (nos. 65 and 68) of the imperial Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga to the defeat of Śabarāditya—probably a chief of the Śavara tribe—by Kāmārṇava, and the references to autochthonous deities such as Stambheśvarī are the few such pieces of evidence. And yet, it is likely that the interaction between tribal and state-society was one of the important elements in the political history of this period. Kulke's analysis of the structure of the medieval kingdoms of Orissa places a great deal of emphasis on the relationship between the 'Hindu rājās' of the nuclear areas, some of whom were themselves descendants of tribal chieftains and the tribal peoples who surrounded the nuclear area and on whose support and cooperation the rājās depended. According to Kulke, while the element of tension was not absent in this relationship, it was for the most part peaceful, and was characterized, not by sustained displacement, but by "a continuous process of indoctrination and partial integration."[3] Tribal integration into the network of the 'Hinduized' kingdoms, according to Kulke, was effected through and reflected in the gradual absorption of tribal groups into the caste system, their integration into court militia, and the acceptance and patronage of the dominant autochthonous deities of their area by kings.[4]

("localities comprising a set of natural and social elements which represented the most advanced level of early South Indian life") were situated in the relatively densely populated drainage basins of the major rivers or in those areas where access to other forms of irrigation made the production of a regular food surplus possible. Within such areas, integration was achieved through the institutions of the brahmadeya and the periyanāḍu (the assembly of the territorial unit known as the nāḍu). Stein sets forth the following characteristics of the nuclear areas: they were fundamentally independent and self-governing; they formed relatively autonomous economic units; they were, socially and culturally, centres of Hindu civilization ([552], pp. 185-88).

[2]Kulke differs herein from Stein, who sees the relationship between the nuclear centres and the upland forests inhabited by tribal peoples as basically one of opposition, and sees the former as constantly encroaching on the latter.

[3]Kulke, [257], p. 128.

[4]Kulke, [257], pp. 128-31. Kulke cites, in this context, the instances of royal patronage of the deities Maṇināgeśvarī, Gokarṇasvāmin, and Stambheśvarī. It may be pointed out that the reference to the ambikā (mother) Maṇināgeśvara (not Maṇināgeśvarī) occurs in Rajaguru's reading of the Kanas plates of Lokavigraha and Bhānudatta, the inscriptions in question;

The most dramatic instance of the royal patronage of an autochthonous deity, reflecting the complex process of religious synthesis (and, hence, also indirectly the political and social processes) underway in Orissa is the royal patronage of the Jagannātha cult.[5]

The political history of ancient and early medieval Orissa was marked by incessant changes corresponding to the vicissitudes in the fortunes of the various ruling lineages. These changes were reflected in kaleidoscopic patterns of chieftaincies and kingdoms, some in the process of moving from the former to the latter stage.[6] The spatial mobility of ruling lineages, some of which came from outside Orissa, was paralleled by the changing geographical foci of kingdoms.[7] The political equilibrium in various parts of Orissa was often unstable for much of the period under review, with a few dynasties such as the Śailodbhavas, Bhauma-Karas, Somavaṁśīs, and imperial Gaṅgas succeeding in carving out larger and more long-lived kingdoms.

The definition and redefinition of power relations in ancient and early medieval Orissa was reflected in royal titles. Some of these embodied territorial claims and reflect the contest for territory. Others reflect relations of paramountcy or subordination, which apparently formed an important component of inter-lineage relations. The ideal of political paramountcy was expressed in the assumption of titles such as

Sircar reads the name of the deity as Maṇināgeśvara, and sees no reference to 'ambikā' in the text. As for Gokarṇasvāmin, it remains to be demonstrated beyond doubt that he was, as Kulke suggests, a deity of the Śavara tribe. The instance of Stambheśvarī can be accepted as illustrating Kulke's point regarding royal patronage of autochthonous deities.

[5]The tribal origins of Jagannātha are evident from the legend of his being originally worshipped by the Śabara chief Viśvāvasu, the iconography of the Jagannātha figure, as also the important position occupied by the Daita priests (supposedly descendants of the original tribal worshippers) in the minutiae of temple ritual (See Eschmann, [127], pp. 99-100. On the Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, and Śākta components in the Jagannātha cult, see Eschmann, ([127], pp. 99-100); Eschmann, [126], pp. 79-98; Stietencron, [581], pp. 119-124; Eschmann, Kulke, and Tripathi, [128], pp. 169-98.

[6]As indicated in the Introduction, the line between chieftaincy and early monarchical state is often fluid and difficult to draw; Service's definition of the chiefdom stage may provisionally be accepted as characterizing chieftaincies, with reservations, however, regarding the theocratic nature of political organization. Even so, it is difficult, in the absence of detailed studies of the technical terms relating to administrative and fiscal structure mentioned in the inscriptions, to clearly identify the diagnostic markers of these stages in the Orissan context.

[7]As pointed out by Heesterman, the classical Indian theory precludes the idea of a clearly defined, closed and internally coherent territorial state ([182], pp. 66-67). He highlights the fact that the inclusion of the ally (as one of the seven limbs of the state) indicates the openendedness of the state, and also that there is no term among the seven elements referring to the territory as a separate item; instead, we have the term 'janapada' or 'rāṣṭra,' which refers to the people-cum-territory.

mahārājādhirāja, parameśvara, amd parama-bhaṭṭāraka, as also in the claim of commanding the obeisance of the multitude of sāmantas (subordinate or feudatory rulers). Royal power was defined and often redefined in the inscriptions in relation to prevailing—and changing—hierarchies of political power and status.

The idiom of paramountcy versus subordination in which political status was expressed, as also the details of the political history of ancient and medieval Orissa, appear to confirm the hypothesis put forward by B.D. Chattopadhyaya that the dominant mode in the formation of polities in early medieval India was the encapsulating of existing power bases by lineages.[8] Chattopadhyaya further suggests that the pooling of military resources and perhaps other forms of support enabled a particular lineage to rise from the position of a local to that of a supra-local power; that this involved a circulation or redistribution of resources as well as the elaboration of a system of ranking, reflected in the sāmanta becoming an important element in the political structure.[9] This reveals one of the important bases of integration at the political level. According to Chattopadhyaya, if ranking is accepted as the basis of the political structures of early medieval India, the potential sources of tension at the political level—among the rank-holders and between the rank-holders and the overlord—become evident.[10]

The political flux that characterized the political history of ancient and early medieval Orissa was paralleled by the formulation of claims to legitimacy and prestige. Such claims formed an integral part of the process of political development and played an especially important role in the context of polities emerging from the stage of tribal chieftaincies into statehood through a process of brahmanization,[11] as also when a particular

[8]Chattopadhyaya, [66], p. 18.

[9]Chattopadhyaya describes the sāmanta system as "the key-note of early medieval polity" ([66] p. 18). He suggests that the early medieval period, which saw the geographical expansion of state society and the integration of the sāmantas into the political structure, marked a change from the early Gupta phase when the policy towards defeated and subordinate rulers was, in the words of the Allahabad pillar inscription, 'grahaṇa-mokṣa,' 'capture and release.' It may be noted here that an analysis of the fiscal terms, official designations, and titles that occur in the inscriptions of Orissa would add greatly to our understanding of the structure of the ancient and early medieval kingdoms. While these fiscal terms, official designations, and titles have been listed in Appendices attached to this work, a detailed investigation into their meaning and significance lies beyond the scope of this study.

[10]Chattopadhyaya, [66], pp. 18-19.

[11]The terms Sanskritization, brahmanization, and Hinduization have been variously used to describe a whole range of complex phenomena of political, social, and religious change

lineage, being a recent migrant into the region, had no roots in the area over which it had established or was attempting to establish its control. Royal genealogies and origin myths drawing on brahmanical and autochthonous traditions were an important part of the process of legitimation, particularly from the seventh century onwards.[12] The genealogies compared kings with legendary heroes and deities, frequently presenting them as countering the evils of the Kali age. The king as performer of the great śrauta sacrifices appears only in the Śailodbhava inscriptions. The evidence of the land-grant charters indicates that dāna (ritual giving), an activity much eulogized in the normative literature, was in fact an important component of royal policy during the entire period under review.

Epigraphic evidence gives an added historical dimension to what the normative literature has to say about the relationship of king and deity. From about the fifth century, the assumption of sectarian titles by kings became prevalent in Orissa. Some kings were inclusive in the presentation of their sectarian affiliations, while others claimed to be worshippers of a particular deity—usually Śiva or Viṣṇu. The exclusive association of a dynasty with a particular deity was a significant development in the relationship of kingship with sectarianism; such an exclusive association, in all cases Śaiva, was claimed by the Śailodbhavas, Ādi-Bhañjas, Śulkīs, Tuṅgas, Somavaṁśīs, Gaṅgas of Śvetaka and Kaliṅganagara, and the imperial Gaṅgas upto the time of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. While, on the

such as being discussed here. The concepi of Sanskritization was first elaborated by Srinivas in his [549]. Srinivas asserted that the structural basis of Hinduism is the caste system, and that this hierarchical system with the Brāhmaṇas and untouchables at the two ends of the pole represents a fusion of Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic systems of ritual and beliefs ([549], p. 212). He pointed out that social mobility was always possible within the caste system, especially among those groups who occupied a middle position in the hierarchy. It was possible for a caste group to enhance its standing in the local caste hierarchy by adopting various elements from the repertoire of customs, rites, and beliefs of the Brāhmaṇas. The propensity of lower caste groups to imitate the higher ones, according to Srinivas, played a pivotal role in the diffusion of Sanskritic ritual and customs, and in the creation of a degree of pan-Indian cultural uniformity ([549], p. 30). Srinivas prefered to call this process Sanskritization rather than brahmanization, as certain Vedic rites are confined to Brāhmaṇas and the other 'twice-born' varṇas. The terms Sanskritization, Brahmanization, and Hinduization all have their limitations, but their utility lies in their highlighting important processes of social change, especially relating to upward mobility within the caste system. Hermann Kulke has recently introduced another concept—that of Kṣatriyization. "In its functional sense, Kshatriyization could be called social change 'from above,' initiated in tribal areas by the Kshatriyas, i.e. zamindars, chiefs or rajas to strengthen their claims to legitimacy in the society and to broaden the basis of their economic and political power." ([259], p. 401).

[12]It may be noted that the use of the gotra by certain rulers may indicate (but not necessarily so) that they were Brāhmaṇas.

one hand, such consistency in sectarian affiliation marks a significant development in the ideology of kingship, note may also be made of the fact that shifts in the sectarian affiliations of the Nalas and the imperial Gaṅgas coincided with and seem to have been related to certain decisive political events.

It is quite likely that as the sacerdotal elite and by virtue of their being associated with the administration of kingdom in various capacities,[13] Brāhmaṇas played an important role in the fashioning and systematization of prestige claims through the composition of royal praśastis. Direct evidence of Brāhmaṇa composers of praśastis in the inscriptions examined for this study is, unfortunately, scanty. The names of the composers of the praśasti are not usually specified in the inscriptions, and in the few cases that they are, the social status of the individual is not indicated. Some clues are provided by the names themselves, particularly the name-suffixes, as also prefixes and epithets. The composer of the praśasti of the Chicacole plates (no. 10) of the Kaliṅganagara king Indravarman was the rahasika (privy councillor) Śaṅkaradeva, son of amātya (minister) Devacandra. 'Deva' and 'candra' occur frequently in the inscriptions as Brāhmaṇa name suffixes; hence, the composer of the praśasti may have been a Brāhmaṇa. The Brahmeśvara temple inscription of Kolāvatī, mother of Somavaṁśī king Udyotakeśarī, was composed by Bhaṭṭa Puruṣottama, the best of poets (kavi-vara), learned in the Veda, vyākaraṇa (grammar), artha-śāstra (the science of politics), kavitā (poetry), tarka (logic), and other branches of knowledge. 'Bhaṭṭa' is a common Brāhmaṇa epithet. The composer of the Korni plates (no. 65) of the imperial Gaṅga king Ananta-varman Coḍagaṅga was śāsan-ādhikārī (an officer in charge of royal grants or their issue) Jātavedi Bhaṭṭa, apparently also a Brāhmaṇa. On the other hand, two of the Nandodbhava grants (the Tamra and Daspalla plates of Devānandadeva) were composed by the sandhivigrahin (minister for peace and war) Yaśodatta, who was also the recipient of the latter grant and described therein as a Kāyastha and a virtuous householder. This suggests that the composition of royal praśastis was not exclusively a Brāhmaṇa preserve.

The period of the formation and proliferation of kingdoms all over Orissa was a period of royal grants to Brāhmaṇas and religious establish-ments, phenomena that seem to have had more than a casual connection. Between the fourth and the mid-twelfth century, Brāhmaṇas, Brāhmaṇa

[13]There are numerous instances in the inscriptions of the association of Brāhmaṇas with the administration of ancient and early medieval Orissa. The epithets and name suffixes of several functionaries betray their Brāhmaṇa status.

settlements, and, to a lesser extent, royally-endowed temple establishments had an important integrative function, political as well as cultural. It may be noted that while throughout the period under review, kings played the dominant role in making pious grants, the inscriptions indicate the participation of certain other groups in the process as well. In the inscriptions of Period I (fourth to seventh century), there is some evidence of the initiative and influence of land-holders, feudatories, administrative functionaries, members of the royal family, and private individuals. In Period II (seventh to tenth century), there is evidence of the initiative and influence of members of the royal family, the families of feudatories, and private individuals. In Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century), there are instances of endowments made by feudatories, members of the royal family, and, in a few cases, by private individuals. Private endowments were often in favour of temples rather than Brāhmaṇas, and usually consisted—as did many grants by members of the royal family—of provisions for flowers or perpetual lamps for the deity. The inscriptions do, however, suggest a role for a variety of groups in the making of pious endowments, even if the final document recording the grant was issued in the name of the king.

While the inscriptions reveal a certain amount of vocational differentiation among the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries of royal grants—including Brāhmaṇas associated with the court in various capacities and those associated with temple establishments—Vedic learning seems to have been a matter of consistent importance throughout the period under review. The Brāhmaṇas are, further, frequently described as conforming to the Dharmaśāstra ideal as performers of the six acts—adhyayana (study), adhyāpana (teaching), yajana (sacrificing), yājana (conducting sacrifices for others), dāna (offering gifts), and pratigraha (receiving gifts).

The description of the Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries in the inscriptions indicates that gotra was an important basis of Brāhmaṇa identity throughout the period under review. The additional specification of pravara and anupravara come to the forefront after about the seventh century. The Vedic school to which a Brāhmaṇa belonged was another important basis of Brāhmaṇa identity. It may be noted that Yajurvedī Brāhmaṇas, particulary those affiliated to the Vājasaneya school, were especially favoured by royal grants. At the other end of the spectrum were the Atharvavedī Brāhmaṇas, who benefited from only one grant during the entire period under review. The reasons for the lack of royal patronage to Brāhmaṇas of the *Atharvaveda*, a Veda regarded with disfavour by some sections of brahmanical orthodoxy, are easier to perceive than the reasons for the

special favours bestowed on Yajur Vedī Brāhmaṇas. According to Citrarekha Gupta, the reason for the popularity of the *Yajurveḍa* in attracting students and royal patronage was that it was associated with the karmakāṇḍa (the part of śruti dealing with ceremonial acts and sacrificial rites).[14] Swati Dutta suggests that the systematic and orderly character of the *Śukla Yajurveda* (of which the Vājasaneya was a school) was responsible for its attracting a larger number of students, and hence greater royal patronage, than the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*.[15]

The favour shown to the Yajur Vedīs may, indeed, have been a result of their ritual expertise. However, the fact that this favour was not accompanied by an exaltation in the royal praśasti of the king as performer of Vedic sacrifices, may appear to be incongruous. It is difficult to explain this feature. It may be speculated that the Yajur Vedīs were, in fact, moving away from ritual specialization to the more lucrative vocation of land-holder, and were responsible for the positing of dāna as the important basis of royal legitimation and status. Or, on the other hand, the virtual absence of king as performer of sacrifice in the royal praśasti may have been a consequence of something else: perhaps the large representation of the Yajur Vedīs among the beneficiaries of royal grants was not paralleled by their being closely associated in significant numbers with the court circle. At any rate, the Yajur Vedīs seem to have represented a more numerous and/or a more spatially mobile section of the Brāhmaṇa community, with greater enterprise in seeking out royal patronage and the material benefits it could confer.

The tenth to the mid-twelfth century witnessed the influx into Orissa of Brāhmaṇas from other parts of India, particularly the north and east. This was probably the reason why the specification of native place and place of residence, which occurs in a few inscriptions of Period I (fourth to seventh century) and Period II (seventh to tenth century), becomes more marked in Period III (tenth to mid-twelfth century). Some of the Brāhmaṇa migrants came from established centres of brahmanical learning such as Ṭakārī, Śrāvasti, Kolāñca, and Hastipada. Belonging to such centres must have been an important qualification in the quest for royal patronage, and the specification of native place (mūla-sthāna) was no doubt of particular value when a Brāhmaṇa could claim such a distinctive connection. Certain inscriptions indicate that the Brāhmaṇas had migrated from brahmadeya settlements in various parts of northern India and had been settled in Orissa

[14]Gupta, [172], p. 16.

[15]Dutta, [99], p. 158.

for some time before they were granted land. How long a period of time this process covered is not known.

Swati Dutta's study of brahmanical migrations in northern India demonstrates that during the period AD 475-1030, Brāhmaṇa migrants made their way into Maharashtra, Bengal, and Madhya Pradesh, but the largest number migrated to Orissa.[16] Dutta points out that epigraphic evidence indicates that the migration of Brāhmaṇas was a phenomenon which became more frequent after the eighth century, and suggests that the political situation in northern India may have been responsible for this.[17] In Bengal, this was the period of the Pāla empire, and the inroads of the Paramāras, Kalacuris, Candellas, Kambojas, and Somavaṁśīs. In the Gangetic valley, this was the period of the conflict between the Pālas, Gurjara-Pratihāras, and Rāṣṭrakūṭas. In the first quarter of the eleventh century, the numerous invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni destabilized the political situation in northern India. As a result of the political instability that characterized much of northern India in the early medieval period, Dutta argues, Brāhmaṇas left their homes and often travelled far afield in search of a greater degree of security and a better livelihood.[18] While demographic details and land-man ratios are not forthcoming for the period that forms the subject of this study, the direction of brahmanical migrations—away from the no doubt more densely populated Gangetic valley, and into the agriculturally less developed peripheral areas—is suggestive of another probable impetus to migration, that of pressure on land. The readiness of kings to bestow tax-free grants of land in favour of Brāhmaṇas provided an ideal opportunity for the enterprising Brāhmaṇa.[19]

While the Brāhmaṇa of the inscriptions conforms in some ways (viz. Vedic learning, the six acts) to the Brāhmaṇa of the normative texts, the inscriptions highlight him in a new role—that of land-holder. Notwithstanding the śāstric injunctions concerning the desirability of the Brāhmaṇa's remaining aloof from worldly affairs and wealth and even the king, inscriptional evidence indicates that during the period under review,

[16]Dutta, [99], p. 224.

[17]Going back a few centuries, the dislocation caused by the Hūṇa invasions in the fifth century, which played an important role in the collapse of the Gupta empire, may be cited as a factor creating political and social disturbances that may have led to the earlier brahmancial migrations. Thapar has highlighted the impact of foreign invasions and migrations on elite groups in general ([565], p. 97).

[18]Dutta, [99], p. 224.

[19]It may be noted that brahmanical migrations may have played an important role in the proliferation of certain pan-Indian elements in the imaging of kingly power in the praśastis.

Brāhmaṇas did not hesitate to accept gifts of land from kings, often accumulating large landed estates in the process. The result was the emergence of Brāhmaṇas as a landed élite, with no doubt considerable influence over village culture, especially religious and social values. This was also a period which witnessed the proliferation and increasing popularity of sectarian temple worship. One question that arises concerns the relationship between the śāsana Brāhmaṇas (those who were endowed with land by kings) and sectarian movements. There is, in fact, little evidence of the sectarian affiliations of the Brāhmaṇas in the inscriptions, which focus instead on their Vedic learning. The details of the Brāhmaṇas and temple establishments patronized by kings yields some, but not a great deal of, evidence of the association of Brāhmaṇas with temples. There is some evidence of non-Brāhmaṇas associated with temples, probably in a priestly capacity. Either the śāsana Brāhmaṇas were not associated in a big way with sectarianism and temple-based religion,[20] or the inscriptions just do not choose to highlight this aspect of their activities (an association with temples not being considered with favour in the orthodox tradition), focusing instead on the traditionally more prestigious image of the Brāhmaṇa as a Vedic scholar.

The inscriptions of ancient and early medieval Orissa yield little evidence of the royal patronage of Buddhist or Jaina religious establishments. There is not much epigraphic evidence of the building or the patronage of temple establishments by kings either. Of the twenty-one grants of land made by kings and members of the royal family to temples during the period under review, thirteen were in favour of Śaiva temples, three in favour of Vaiṣṇava temples, one in favour of a temple which combined the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu, one in favour of a village deity, and three in favour of goddesses. The majority of temple endowments were, thus, in favour of Śaiva establishments.

The comparatively small number of royal grants in favour of temples may seem incongruous with the fact that sectarian associations were of consistent importance in the imaging of kingship in the praśasti. The paucity of epigraphic evidence crediting kings with building specific temples and the apparent independence of the development of the Orissan temple from royal patronage has been noted and explained in various ways by scholars of Orissan architecture. According to Panigrahi, it most likely indicates "that such temples were considered as state property rather than

[20]This does not preclude the possiblility of other Brāhmaṇa groups being involved in the popularization of temple-based religion.

the property of the kings during whose reigns they were built."[21] Donaldson agrees with Panigrahi's suggestion.[22] Dehejia has a different explanation. She suggests that royal patronage was not the raison d'être for the evolution of the Orissan temple, which displays a continuous development of a strong architectural tradition apparently not affected by political vicissitudes. She suggests that patronage was no doubt crucial to the building and maintenance of temples, but that this patronage may have come for the most part not from kings but from the nobility and wealthy classes.[23] What seems apparent is that until after the building of the Puruṣottama temple at Puri in the mid-twelfth century by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, the concept of the royally-endowed temple establishment did not have a significant place in the ideology of kingship in Orissa. Further, the evidently small degree of royal involvement and the evidence of inscriptions recording private endowments to temples (these usually took the form of monetary investments for the provision of flowers, lamps, and so forth for the temple, and not gifts of land) suggests that the intensive temple building activity that occurred in Orissa from the sixth century onwards and the patronage of these temples was not a royal preserve, but perhaps the result of the activities of élite groups such as merchants, military chiefs, and nobles. Another possible explanation of the paucity of epigraphic evidence of royal grants to temples is that it was only towards the end of the period under review that the organization of temple worship and liturgy became elaborate and impressive enough for kings to seek to enhance their status by identifying themselves closely with temple establishments. Further, that the timing of royal temple-building and patronage was also influenced by competition with political rivals is indicated by the fact that the building of the Puruṣottama-Jagannātha temple by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga in the mid-twelfth century seems to have been this king's challenge to the monumental Bṛhadeśvara temple at Tanjore built by his Cōḷa rivals.

The evidence of the royal land grants indicates the emergence of Brāhmaṇas as an important landed class with special privileges in the post-fourth century period.[24] Some of the Brāhmaṇas were the beneficiaries of

[21]Panigrahi, [353], p. 254. [22]Donaldson, [119], p. 6.

[23]Dehejia, [111], p. 173.

[24]It may be mentioned here that the grant of land by kings has been used by some scholars as an argument for the royal ownership of land in ancient India. As a matter of fact, evidence can be cited from literary as well as epigraphical sources in order to support the theories of the corporate, royal, and private ownership of land. The apparently contradictory nature of the evidence can be explained if the following things are kept in mind: that the ancient and early medieval Indian concepts of ownership and property were not identical with modern

more than one grant of land and accumulated large landed estates. In almost all cases of royal grants, whether to Brāhmaṇas or to religious establishments, the endowments were made in perpetuity, and, thus, were presumably hereditary.[25] The majority (not all) of the land grants gave the gifted land a tax-exempt status. What this meant was that from the time of the grant, the land or village or villages in question were considered tax-free from the state's point of view, and that the dues to which the state may have been hitherto or potentially entitled were to be paid by the inhabitants to the beneficiaries of the grant. The evidence from Orissa, however, indicates that not all pious endowments were tax-free, and there are several instances of kara-śāsanas or grants which entailed the payment to the state of an annual revenue.

While revenue rights were an important right—perhaps *the* most important single right—bestowed on most of the brahmadeyas and devadeyas—it was not the only one. The royal charters usually grant the land along with a series of more general privileges, the comprehensive nature

western ones; that what should be sought for in the Indian context are a hierarchy of rights in land rather than exclusive and absolute rights of ownership; that there existed a variety of tenures, and that there were bound to be variations in these from region to region. One of the arguments for the royal ownership is that the king could only give that which was his, and that the fact that kings throughout the ancient and early medieval period made grants of land, mainly to Brāhmaṇas and temples, is evidence that land belonged to the king. It may be countered that while such grants are indicative that *some* land (i.e. the land made the object of gifts) belonged to the king, it does not necessarily indicate that *all* land was his. The matter cannot however be dismissed so easily without raising another contentious and related issue: what was the nature of the rights bestowed on the beneficiaries of royal land grants; did these simply amount to revenue rights or did they involve more comprehensive rights of ownership? That the king was not the absolute owner of all land is also indicated by the evidence of the purchase of land by kings for the purpose of pious donation—in Orissa, an instance of this is provided by the Urlam plates of the Kaliṅganagara Gaṅga king Hastivarman (no. 4), which refer to the king purchasing land from the residents of an agrahāra for the purpose of donation. An important piece of evidence comes from the Madras Museum plates of the time of Narendradhavala. The inscription is not dated, but the plates have been assigned on palaeographic grounds to a period not later than the tenth century AD. The Madras Museum plates are a kraya-śāsana, a sale deed. They record the details of a series of transactions involving Taḍesva(śva)ra village in Khiṇḍarasiṁgha(śṛṅga) in Gomuṇḍa (or Momuṇḍa) maṇḍala in the kingdom of a king named Narendradhavala. Taking into account the sum of the literary as well as epigraphic evidence on the matter of ownership of land, the following conclusions may be reached: from the Gupta period, the king was considered the lord of the land, though not perhaps the 'owner' of the land in the modern sense; that private property in land existed, under the umbrella of a somewhat vague or largely theoretical notion of ulimate royal control over the land; that the king's rights in the soil did not preclude the rights of private individuals.

[25]The hereditary nature of the grant is, in some cases, specifically stated. There are a few instances, however of a particular village being re-granted to someone else.

of which was indicated in some inscriptions by the statement that the land had been granted according to the 'bhūmicchidra-nyāya' or the 'bhūmicchidr-āpidhāna-nyāya.' While the nature of the exemptions and privileges attached to royally-gifted land varied from dynasty to dynasty, they do seem to amount to the transfer of rather comprehensive rights over the land to the beneficiaries. The term 'sa-daś-āparādha' in several Pāṇḍuvaṁśī and Somavaṁśī grants suggests that in these cases, the beneficiaries may have been vested with judicial rights as well. The inhabitants of the granted villages are often instructed in the royal charters to obey the donees and live happily, rendering to them the appropriate dues. From about the ninth century, certain inscriptions state that the land was granted along with control over outposts in the village, landing or bathing places, and ferries (sa-kheṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadi-tara-sthān-ādi-gulmaka) as also along with weavers, cowherds, brewers, and other subjects (sa-tantravāya-gokuṭa-śauṇḍik-ādi-prakṛtika). The first of these stipulations indicates the enlargement of the scope of the donees' revenue rights. It is a matter of controversy whether the second one meant that the beneficiaries were given some sort of rights over the person, activities, and movements of certain groups residing in the village (it may be noted that the cultivators are not mentioned specifically in this regard), or whether this simply refers to the right to collect revenue from them. If the former interpretation is accepted, it reflects a significant enlargement of the nature of extra-revenue rights granted to the beneficiaries of royal grants.

In Orissa, the state rarely reserved any rights over the land gifted by it to Brāhmaṇas or religious establishments. The only restriction sometimes imposed on the beneficiaries was that they did not have the right to alienate the land. The inalienability of the gifted land was indicated by certain technical terms. The land is sometimes stated to have been granted according to the 'akṣaya-nīvi-dharma,' which refers to the law of the inalienability of permanent endowments. Then again, in several inscriptions, the land is said to be 'a-lekhanī-praveśatayā,' which seems to mean that it could not be made the subject of another document, i.e. could not be alienated. Thus, while the rights bestowed on the recipients of royal grants seem to have amounted to more that usufructory rights, they also seem to fall short of fully-fledged ownership, as the donees did not always have the right to dispose of the land granted to them. The terms of the grants seem to suggest that royal grants created a landed élite whose position lay somewhere in between that of landlord and land-owner, with rather comprehensive, but not absolute, rights over the land, its revenue, and in some cases, perhaps even over its inhabitants.

One of the questions that may be posed in relation to the rights bestowed on the brahmadeyas and devadeyas is: whose rights were being transferred to the beneficiaries? Many of the inscriptions refer to the grant to the donees of rights over treasure trove and hidden deposits and forests, and there is one reference to the grant of the right to heirless property (the Bonda plates of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king). The position of the normative texts on these particular issues may help elucidate the situation. That the king had a major claim to treasure trove and hidden deposits found on the land is indicated in the normative literature. The texts differ somewhat in the proportion of the treasure to be assigned to the various individuals involved. *Gautama* and *Vasiṣṭha* suggest that one-sixth of the treasure-trove was to go to the finder and five-sixths to the king, except when the treasure was discovered by a Brāhmaṇa, in which case the Brāhmaṇa had a right to keep all of it.[26] The *Arthaśāstra* assigns to the finder of treasure trove a one-sixth share and to the state a five-sixth share, but makes an exception in the case of large treasures valued at over 1,000,000 (paṇas), which were to go to the state in their entirety.[27] According to *Manu*, when a person succesfully proved his claim to a treasure, he had a right to a portion of it, one-sixth or one-half going to the king; treasure found by a learned Brāhmaṇa belonged entirely to the Brāhmaṇa; of a treasure found by the king, one-half was to be distributed among the Brāhmaṇas, and the other half was to go into the king's treasury.[28] According to *Nārada*, the finder of treasure trove should make it over to the king, for all treasures, except those found by Brāhmaṇas, belonged to the king.[29] The *Arthaśāstra* suggests that forests comprised an important source of royal income, and were under the jurisdiction of a royal officer known as the kupyādhyakṣa (superintendent of forest produce).[30] The *Viṣṇu Smṛti* suggests that the king appoint capable officers to supervise forests having elephants.[31] The *Arthaśāstra* and the Dharmaśāstras suggest that, theoretically at least, the king had the right to escheat heirless property; the texts usually make an exception in the case of the property of Brāhmaṇas, which was supposed to be distributed among other Brāhmaṇas.[32]

[26] *Gautama Dharmaśāstra* 10. 43-45; *Vasiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra* 3. 13-14, cited by Jha, [217], p. 94.

[27] *Arthaśāstra* 4. 1, cited by Jha, [217], pp. 94-95.

[28] *Manu Smṛti* 8. 35-36, cited by Jha, [217], pp. 95-96.

[29] *Nārada Smṛti* 7. 6, cited by Jha, [217], pp. 97-98.

[30] *Arthaśāstra* 2. 3, 17, cited by Jha, [217], p. 115.

[31] *Viṣṇu Smṛti* 3. 16, cited by Jha, [217], p. 115. Jha points out that the other law-givers are silent on the issue of the king's rights and control over forests and their produce.

[32] *Arthaśāstra* 3. 5, *Gautama Dharmaśāstra* 28. 41-42, *Vasiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra* 16, 83-97;

The evidence of the literary sources suggests that the grant of rights to beneficiaries of royal grants over items such as treasure trove, forests, and heirless property, affected the claims of the king and constituted a renunciation by the state of potential, if not actual, sources of income. The grant of control over water resources, trees, forests, and habitation area would presumably also have affected the de facto rights of the inhabitants of the villages. The possible grant of judicial rights or at least the right to realize fines for the commission of certain offences would have affected the theoretical rights of the king, and probably also that of local decision-making bodies, formal or informal, where these existed. It may be noted that the brahmadeya and devadeya settlements were generally declared to be free from royal intervention. It may also be mentioned that among the inscriptions of ancient and early medieval Orissa, the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī and Somavaṁśī grants refer to the maximum number of tax-exemptions/ privileges granted to the beneficiaries of the grants. It is not clear how precisely the numerical variation in the number of fiscal exemptions/ privileges is to be interpreted—whether it means a larger number of rights granted to the donees or whether it reflects an increase in the number of taxes imposed by the state, or both.

While the epigraphic evidence gives us information concerning a certain type of village settlement—the brahmadeya or devadeya, this was, of course, not the only or the typical or most numerous type of settlement. One of the important questions that arises concerns the relationship of brahmadeyas and devadeyas to non-brahmadeya/devadeya settlements. It is, unfortunately, not possible to ascertain the numerical ratio between these, and the epigraphic evidence from Orissa has little to offer in this matter. What the epigraphic evidence does indicate are the existence of a multiplicity of land tenures. Sircar points out that from the king's point of view, land could be classified into the following categories: state land; land occupied by tenants who paid the king's dues according to agreed rates; and land in more or less uninhabited and uncultivated areas over which state control varied.[33] (To these categories may be added the brahmadeyas and devadeyas, over which the state had minimal jurisdiction). Each of these categories, Sircar continues, could be further subdivided. For instance, state land could be of the following kinds: land attached to the king personally; fiefs allotted to members of the royal family, administrative

Viṣṇu Dharmaśāstra 17. 13-14; *Manu Smṛti* 9. 188-89; *Kātyāyanasmṛtisāroddhāna*, verse 931, cited by Jha, [217], pp. 91-92.

[33]Sircar, [492], p. 3

officers, subordinates, etc.; state farms; land cultivated by ārdhikas or sharecroppers; and uncultivated and waste land.[34]

One of the fundamental questions that arises in the context of the royal grants to Brāhmaṇas and religious establishments concerns the rationale of a phenomenon which indicates state involvement in a process in which it was apparently the loser. That this was not so is suggested by D.C. Sircar, according to whom royal land grant charters often camouflage the identity of the persons making grants, and also the nature of the exchange involved.[35] He suggests that when a governor or vassal ruler wanted to create a tax-free endowment, he applied to the king and paid a certain sum of money for the land in question (usually land that lay within their fief or domain).[36] In terms of the religious merit that would accrue to the various parties concerned, according to the tradition regarding this matter, five-sixths would go to the purchaser, and one-sixth to the king.[37] According to Sircar, while the inscriptions do not directly state that the land in question was bought for a sum (representing either the actual monetary value of the land or just a nominal sum), this was in fact the case when an inscription stated that a grant of land had been made by a particular king at the request of a subordinate ruler.[38] The name of the actual donors also appeared in endorsements at the end of the inscriptions, without specifying their connection with the grant. According to Sircar, therefore, several tax-free grants avowedly made by kings were actually the donations of individuals who appear as having 'requested' that the grant be made or in shadowy references relegated to the last few lines of the inscriptions, or are not given the courtesy of any sort of mention whatsoever in the inscriptions. The raison d' être for this curious situation, he suggests, was the reluctance on the part of the state to admit to the monetary transaction that lay behind the grant.[39] Sircar's hypothesis has important implications for the question of who was giving, buying, and selling land in ancient and early medieval times, and for the rationale of royal land grants. This is also the case with

[34]Sircar, [492], p. 3.

[35]Sircar, [492], p. 7.

[36]While the terms 'fief' and 'domain' are sometimes used for convenience, it should be pointed out that they are theoretically-loaded terms, being derived from the terminology of European feudalism. It is curious that Sircar, who argues vigorously against the proponents of Indian feudalism, uses them so casually.

[37]Sircar, [492], p. 7.

[38]Several inscriptions from Orissa and other regions as well refer to the 'vijñāpti,' the person at whose request the grant was made.

[39]Sircar, [492], p. 8. According to Sircar ([516], pp. 9-10), the desirability of presenting the sale of land as a gift is put forward by Vijñāneśvara in the *Mitākṣarā* in the course of his comments on *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* 2. 114.

his suggestion that the series of kara-śāsanas (which have only been found in Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, and in one inscription of Bengal)—the revenue-paying grants of land—in fact reflect money transactions over land between the state and certain individuals, and the presentation of these transactions as gifts.[40]

Apart from the indications that royal grants of land to Brāhmaṇas and religious establishments were not always financially disinterested acts on the part of the state, the rationale of royal grants can be sought in other areas as well. Kulke has countered the arguments that the state's grant of revenue rights to the beneficiaries of royal grants constituted a decrease in the state's revenue yield and rights in general by suggesting that the state may not, in fact, have been in a position to exercize the rights it "transferred" to the donees.[41] Particularly in a situation of newly-established or uncertain political power, the brahmadeyas and devadeyas (which, in the period and area that form the subject of this study, were less numerous and significant than the brahmadeyas) were one of the ways in which land was integrated into political territory. Royal decree created a privileged landed class, linked to the dynasty through ties of allegiance, loyalty, and gratitude. The brahmadeya settlements were often situated in the proximity of political centres, and thus, in a sense helped define the core of the territory over which a particular king exercized power. This was done so with particularly dramatic effect when the settlement was one made over to several hundred Brāhmaṇas (for instance in the case of several imperial Gaṅga grants). Those situated on the peripheries played a role in the cultural and political integration of the tribes. They may also have played a role in the introduction of plough agricultural in the tribal areas.[42] It is possible that in certain cases where the donees were given rights over the forests adjoining the village settlements the royal grants led to an extension of the margin of cultivation, although it must be pointed out that there is little in the inscriptions to suggest that the land granted to Brāhmaṇas and temples was in general fallow land.

Of course, brahmadeyas and devadeyas were not the only integrative factors at work in ancient and early medieval Orissa. Integration was also at work at the religious level, in the synthesis of brahmanical and autochthonous deities by the sectarians, and through the gradual elaboration of a pan-Indian network of tīrthas (places of pilgrimage); and at the economic

[40]Sircar, [516], pp. 4-10. [41]Kulke, [256], p. 247.

[42]In the context of Brāhmaṇas as introducers of plough agriculture, Pfeffer ([369], p. 425) refers to the group of Orissa Brāhmaṇas known as the Balarāmagoṣṭhī ('kinsmen of Lord Balabhadra,' patron deity of plough-farmers) Brāhmaṇas, who probably played such a role.

level, through the networks established by internal and external trade. The instability that characterized many of the kingdoms of ancient and early medieval Orissa suggests that integration at the political level, achieved through the capture of existing power bases, the establishment of a hierarchy of inter-lineage relations and ranks, and royal grants of land, mainly to Brāhmaṇas, was not always entirely successful. During the reigns of the imperial Gaṅga kings, the preponderance of Brāhmaṇa grants receded, grants by kings and members of the royal family in favour of temples, as also secular grants to nāyakas (military chiefs) came to the fore. This suggests that the rule of the imperial Gaṅgas saw a change in the bases of political integration; the expansion and longevity of the Gaṅga empire can be seen as related to this change.

The evidence presented in this study can be brought to bear more readily on the Indian feudalism hypothesis than that of the segmentary state, as the former is based to a large extent on the evidence of land grants. As already suggested, even if he was so in some ways, the king was not in *all* respects the loser in the process, and that these grants need not be interpreted in the final analysis, as has been done by the proponents of Indian feudalism, as indicative of the fragmentation of political authority. Instead, they may be seen as reflecting the forging of ties of alliance between kings and Brāhmaṇas in ancient and early medieval Orissa, the patronage of the king materially benefitting the Brāhmaṇa, and the allegiance of the Brāhmaṇa buttressing the power and prestige of the king. An investigation into the details of the administrative organization of the ancient and early medieval kingdoms of Orissa remains a desideratum. Supplemented by the findings of this study, such an investigation would help further elucidate the nature of the political and economic order in ancient and early medieval Orissa.

Appendix I

List of Inscriptions[1]

Period I: The Fourth to the Seventh Century

Śatrudamana

1. Pedda-Dugam plates of Śatrubhañja. D.C. Sircar, *EI*, 31, pt. 2: 89-93; V. Bhanumurty, *JAHRS* 21: 159 ff.

Viśākhavarman

1. Koroshanda plates of Viśākhavarman. G. Ramdas, *EI* 21: 23-25; Satyanarayana Rajaguru, *JBORS* 14: 282-84.

The Pitṛbhaktas

1. Baranga plates of Umavarman. Saratchandra Behara, *OHRJ* 6, pts. 2 & 3: 106-09.

2. Tekkali plates of Umavarman. M. Venkataramayya, *EI* 27: 298-302; Gopinath Harichandra Jagadeb, *JAHRS* 6: 53-54.

3. Dhavalapeta plates of Umavarman. R.K. Ghoshal, *EI*, 26: 132-35; Manda Narasimham, *JAHRS* 10: 143-44.

4. Bṛhatproṣṭhā plates of Umavarman. E. Hultzsch, *EI* 12: 4-6.

5. Temburu plates of Umavarman. G.S. Gai, *EI* 37: 337-40.

6. Bobbili plates of Caṇḍavarman. R.K. Ghoshal, *EI* 27: 33-36.

7. Komarti plates of Caṇḍavarman. E. Hultzsch, *EI* 4: 142-45.

8. Chicacole plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman. J.F. Fleet, *IA* 13: 48-50.

9. Baranga plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman. Saratchandra Behara *OHRJ*, 6, pt. 2: 109-14.

[1]The references cited here refer to the original publishing and editing of the text of a particular inscription. Reference to the volumes of *Inscriptions of Orissa* are given only when the inscription in question has been freshly edited by the editors of these volumes or if the original published version is not easily accessible. It may be added that in cases where more than one version of the text of an inscription is cited in this list, the version cited first is the one that has been used in this study as the authoritative version.

The Māṭharas

1. Ragolu plates of Śaktivarman. E. Hultzsch, *EI* 12: 1-3.
2. Ningondi plates of Prabhañjanavarman. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 30: 112-18.
3. Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman. R. Subrahmanyam, *EI* 28, pt. 4: 175-79.
4. Madras Museum plates of Anantaśaktivarman. M. Venkataramayya, *EI* 28, pt. 5: 226-35.

The Vāsiṣṭhas

1. Siripuram plates of Anantavarman. S.V. Srinivasa Rao, *EI*, 24: 47-52.
2. Srungavarapukota plates of Anantavarman. R.C. Majumdar, *EI* 23: 56-61; M. Narasimham, *JAHRS*, 7, pts. 2 & 3: 153-60.

The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (I)

1. Jirjingi plates of Indravarman. R.K. Ghoshal, *EI* 25: 281-88; R. Subbarao, *QJAHRS* 3, pt. 1: 49-53.
2. Ponnuturu plates of Sāmantavarman. M. Somasekhara Sarma, *EI* 27: 216-22.
3. Narasingapalli plates of Hastivarman. R.C. Majumdar, *EI*, 23: 62-67.
4. Urlam plates of Hastivarman. E. Hultzsch, *EI* 17: 330-34.
5. Achyutapuram plates of Indravarman. E. Hultzsch, *EI* 3: 127-30.
6. Santa-Bommali plates of Indravarman. R.K. Ghoshal, *EI*, 25: 194-98; Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadev, *JAHRS* 4, pts. 1 & 2: 21-24.
7. Tirlingi copperplate. Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *QJAHRS* 3, pt. 1: 54-57.
8. Parlakimedi plates of Indravarman. J.F. Fleet, *IA* 16: 131-34.
9. Andhavaram plates of Indravarman. R. Subrahmanyam, *EI*, 30, pt. 1: 37-42.
10. Chicacole plates of Indravarman. J.F. Fleet, *IA* 13: 119-22.
11. Chicacole plates of Indravarman. J.F. Fleet, *IA* 13: 122-24.
12. Purle plates of Indravarman. G. Ramadas, *EI* 14: 360-63.
13. Tekkali plates of Indravarman. E. Hultzsch, *EI* 18: 307-11.

Pṛthivī-mahārāja

1. Tāṇḍivāḍa plates of Pṛthivī-mahārāja. R.S. Panchamukhi, *EI* 23: 88-89; N. Venkataramanayya, *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras* 9: 188-94.
2. Parlakimedi plates of Pṛthivī-mahārāja. S.N. Rajaguru, *IO*, 1, pt. 2: 54-56.

Charamparāja

1. Khandipada Nuapalli plates of Charamparāja. Satyanarayana Rajaguru, *IO*, 2: 323-29.

Śatrubhañja

1. Asanapat inscription of Śatrubhañja. Anirudha Das, *OHRJ* 13, no. 2: 1-8.

Diśābhañja

1. Sitabhinji inscription of Diśābhañja. T. N. Ramachandran, *Artibus Asiae* 14 1/2: 5-25; D.C. Sircar, *EI* 25, pt. 1: 47-50.

Gopacandra

1. Jayarampur plate of the time of Gopacandra. Satyanarayana Rajaguru, *OHRJ* 11, no. 4: 206-29.

The Vigrahas

1. Sumandala plates of the time of Pṛthivīvigraha. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 28, pt. 2: 79-85; Satyanarayana Rajaguru, *OHRJ* 1, no. 1: 66-69.

2. Kanas plate of Lokavigraha. D. C. Sircar, *EI* 28: 329-31; Satyanarayana Rajaguru, *JKHRS* 3: 261.

The Mudgalas/Mānas and their feudatories

1. Erbhang plate of Śambhuyaśas. S.N. Rajaguru, *OHRJ* 12: 113-22.
2. Soro plate of Śambhuyaśas. N.G. Majumdar, *EI* 23: 201-02.
3. Patiakella grant of Śivarāja. R.D. Banerji, *EI* 1907-08: 285-88.

Śubhakīrti

1. Midnapore plate of Śubhakīrti. R.C. Majumdar, *JRASBL* 11: 9.

The Dattas

1. Midnapore plate of Somadatta. R.C. Majumdar, *JRASBL* 11: 7-8.
2. Soro plate of Somadatta. N.G. Majumdar, *EI* 23: 202.
3. Soro plate of Somadatta. N.G. Majumdar, *EI* 23: 202-03.
4. Soro plate of Bhānudatta. N.G. Majumdar, *EI* 23: 203.
5. Kanas plate of Bhānudatta. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 28: 332-34; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *OHRJ* 2, no. 1: 31-46.
6. Balasore plate of Bhānu. Haridas Mitra, *IHQ* 11, no. 4: 611-26; R. K. Ghoshal, *EI* 26: 239-40.

The Nalas

1. Kesaribeda plate of Arthapati. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 28, pt. 1: 12-17; G. Ramadas, *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* 34: 33-42.

2. Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman. Y.R. Gupte, *EI* 19: 100-104.

3. Podagadh stone inscription of Skandavarman. C.R. Krishnamacharlu, *EI* 21: 153-57.

4. Rajim stone inscription of Vilāsatuṅga. V.V. Mirashi, *EI* 26: 49-58.

Tuṣṭikāra

1. Terasingha plates of Tuṣṭikāra. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 30, pt. 7: 274-78; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *JKHRS* 2: 107 ff.

The Śarabhapurīyas

1. Pipardula plates of Narendra. Dines Chandra Sircar and L.P. Pāṇḍeya-Sarmā, *IHQ* 19: 139-46.

2. Kurud plates of Narendra. Moreshwar G. Dikshit, *EI* 31: 263-66.

3. Arang plates of Mahā-Jayarāja. J.F. Fleet, *CII*, 3: 191-95.

4. Khariar plates of Mahā-Sudeva. Sten Konow, *EI* 9: 170-73.

5. Sirpur plates of Mahā-Sudevarāja. S.L. Katare, *EI* 31: 103-08; L.P. Pandeya, *IHQ* 10: 100-103.

6. Kauvatal plates of Mahā-Sudevarāja. A.N. Lahiri. *EI* 31: 314-16; L.P. Pandeya Sarma, *IHQ* 21: 294-95.

7. Arang plates of Mahā-Sudevarāja. L.P. Pandeya, *EI* 23: 18-22.

8. Sarangarh plates of Mahā-Sudeva. Hira Lal, *EI* 9: 281-85.

9. Raipur plates of Mahā-Sudevarāja. J.F. Fleet, *CII*, 3: 196-200.

10. Thakurdiya plates of Mahā-Pravararāja. V.V. Mirashi, *EI* 22: 15-23.

The Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs

1. Malga plates of Indrarāja. D.C. Sircar and S. Sankaranarayanan, *EI* 33, pt. 4: 209-14.

2. Bamhani plates of Bharatabala. B.Ch. Chhabra, *EI* 27: 132-45.

3. Bonda plates of Tīvara. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 34, pt. 3: 111-16.

4. Rajim copperplate inscription of Tīvaradeva. J.F. Fleet, *CII* 3: 291-99.

5. Baloda plates of Tīvaradeva. E. Hultzsch, *EI* 7: 102-07.

6. Adhabhara plates of Mahā-Nannarāja. Bal Chandra Jain, *EI* 31, pt. 5: 219-22.

7. Sirpur inscription of the time of Bālārjuna. Moreshwar G. Dikshit, *EI* 31, pt. 5: 197-98.

8. Senakapat inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna. M.G. Dikshit and D.C. Sircar, *EI* 31, pt. 1: 31-36.

9. Bardula plates of Mahā-Śivagupta. P.B. Desai, *EI* 27: 287-91.

10. Mallar plates of Mahā-Śivagupta. V.V. Mirashi and L.P. Pandeya, *EI* 23: 113-22.

11. Sirpur Gandheśvara Temple Inscription of the time of Somavaṁśī Mahā-Śivagupta. Sant Lal Katare, *IHQ* 33: 229-34. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, sec. ed. (Nagpur: Government Printing, C.P., 1932), pp. 97-99.

12. Sirpur stone inscription of Śivagupta. F. Kielhorn, *IA* 18: 179-81.

13. Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahā-Śivagupta, *EI* 11: 184-201.

14. Bonda plates of Mahā-Śivagupta. V.V. Mirashi and L. P. Pandeya, *EI* 35: 60-65.

15. Lodhia plates of Mahā-Śivagupta. L.P. Pandeya, *EI* 27: 319-25.

Period II: The Seventh to the Tenth Century

The Śailodbhavas

1. Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja. E. Hultzsch, *EI* 6: 143-46.

2. Khurda plates of Mādhavarāja. Ganga Mohan Laskar, *JASB* 73, pt. 1, no. 3: 282-86.

3. Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman. F. Kielhorn, *EI* 3: 41-46.

4. Purushottampur plates of Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 30: 264-69; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *OHRJ* 2, nos. 3 & 4: 20-24.

5. Puri plates of Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta. R.G. Basak, *EI* 23: 122-31.

6. Orissa Museum plates of Mādhavavarman. N.G. Majumdar, *EI* 24: 148-53; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *OHRJ* 2, nos. 3 & 4: 17-19, 23-24.

7. Banpur plates of Madhyamarāja. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 29: 33-38; Satyanarayana Rajaguru, *JKHRS* 2, pt. 1: 59ff.

8. Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja. R.D. Banerji, *EI* 11: 281-87.

9. Ranapur plates of Dharmarāja. S.N. Rajaguru, *IO*, 1, pt. 2: 218-22.

10. Nivina plates of Dharmarāja. N.P. Chakravarti, *EI* 21: 34-41.

11. Chandeshwar plates of Mānabhīta Dharmarāja. D. C. Sircar, *EI* 30, pt. 7: 269-73; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *JKHRS* 2, no. 1: 65 ff.

12. Banpur plates of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 29: 38-43.

13. Kondedda plates of Dharmarāja. Y.R. Gupte, *EI* 19: 265-71.

14. Puri plates of Dharmarāja. S.N. Rajaguru, *JBORS* 16, pt. 2: 176-88.

15. Tekkali plates of Madhyamarāja. Haraprasad Sastri, *JBORS* 4, pt. 1: 162-67; Gopabandhu Vidyabhushana, *Prāchī* 3, pt. 2: 79-91.

16. Two incomplete plates of palimpsests from Dharakota. S.N. Rajaguru, *IO*, 1, pt. 2: 248-53.

Neṭṭabhañja

1. Baud plates of Neṭṭabhañja. Binayak Misra, *JBORS* 17, pt. 1: 104-18.

2. Russellkonda plates of Neṭṭabhañja. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 28: 258-63; S.N. Rajaguru, *OHRJ* 1, no. 4: 265-70.

The Gaṅgas of Śvetaka

1. Dhanantara plates of Sāmantavarman. Tarini Charan Rath, *EI* 15: 275-78.

2. Kama-Nalinakshapur plates of Sāmantavarman. Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *OHRJ* 7, pt. 2: 86-90.

3. Pherava plates of Sāmantavarman. R.C. Majumdar, *EI* 27: 108-15; M.S. Sharma, *Journal of Oriental Research* 11: 55 ff.

4. Ganjam plates of Jayavarmadeva. S.N. Chakravarti, *EI* 23: 267-69.

5. Ganjam plates of Jayavarmadeva. S.N. Chakravarti, *EI* 23: 261-63.

6. Kama-Nalinakshapur plates of Jayavarman. Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *OHRJ* 7, pt. 2: 83-86.

7. Ganjam plates of Jayavarman. Binayak Misra, *IHQ* 12: 489-93.

8. Ganjam plates of the time of Bhūpendravarmadeva. S.N. Chakravarti, *EI* 23: 265-67.

9. Svalpa-Velura grant of Anantavarman. B.Ch. Chhabra, *EI* 24, pt. 3: 129-37.

10. Ganjam plates of Pṛthivīvarmadeva. F. Kielhorn, *EI* 4: 198-201.

11. Indian Museum plates of Indravarman. C.C. Das Gupta, *EI* 26: 165-71.

12. Vishamagiri plates of Indravarmadeva. Tarini Charan Rath, *EI* 19: 134-37; R. Subbarao, *QJAHRS* 3, pts. 2, 3, & 4: 183-87.

13. Gautami plates of Indravarman. Kunja Govinda Goswami, *EI* 24: 180-83.

14. Badakhimedi plates of Indravarman. P.N. Bhattacharyya, *EI* 23: 78-80.

15. Ganjam plates of Dāṇārṇavadeva. S.N. Chakravarti, *EI* 23: 263-65.

The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (II)

14. Chicacole plates of Devendravarman. E. Hultzsch, *EI* 3: 130-34.

15. Sudava plates of Devendravarman. R.K. Ghoshal, *EI* 26: 62-65; Satyanarayana Rajaguru, *QJAHRS* 2, pts. 3 & 4: 275-76.

16. Triliṅgi inscription of Devendravarman. R.K. Ghoshal, *IHQ* 20: 232-36; L.H. Jagadeb Rajabahadur, *IHQ* 11: 300-03.

17. Siddhantam plates of Devendravarman. G. Ramadas Pantulu, *EI* 13: 212-16.

18. Sudava plates of Anantavarman. R.K. Ghoshal, *EI* 26: 65-68; Satyanarayana Rajaguru, *QJAHRS* 2, pts. 3 & 4: 273-75.

19. Andhavaram plates of Anantavarman. R. Subrahmanyam, *EI* 31, pt. 5: 199-202.

20. Santha Bomvali plates of Nandavarman. Satyanarayana Rajaguru, *QJAHRS* 2, pts. 3 & 4: 185-89.

21. Vishakhapatnam plates of Devendravarman. J.F. Fleet, *IA* 18: 143-46.

22. Alamanda plates of Anantavarman. E. Hultzsch, *EI* 3: 17-21.

23. Jayapur plates of Rājendravarman. S.N. Rajaguru, *IO* 2: 107-08 (details of contents not given).

24. Shalantri/Musinaka plates of Devendravarman. V.V. Mirashi, *EI* 30, pt. 1: 23-28; Manda Narasimham, *JAHRS* 18, pts. 1-4: 115-22.

25. Bangalore plates of Devendravarman. Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* 9: 140.

26. Chicacole plates of Devendravarman. Dines Chandra Sircar, *JASBL* 18, no. 1: 17-20; C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao, *JAHRS* 8, pts. 2 & 3: 185-87, 192-93.

27. Indian Museum plates of Devendravarman. B.Ch. Chhabra, *EI* 23: 73-78.

28. Tekkali plates of Devendravarman. E. Hultzsch, *EI* 18: 311-13.

29. Pattali plates of Yuvarāja Rājendravarman. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 32, pt. 5: 201-06; Manda Narasimham, *Bhārati* (Telugu journal), June 1954, pp. 574 ff.

30. Plates of Rājendravarman. *MER*, 1918, copperplate no. 13, pp. 137-38 (summary of inscription).

31. Chicacole plates of Devendravarman. J.F. Fleet, *IA* 13: 273-76.

32. Chicacole plates of Satyavarman. J.F. Fleet, *IA* 14: 10-12.

33. Tekkali plates of Anantavarman. R.K. Ghoshal, *EI* 26: 174-77.

34. Parlakimedi plates of the time of Vajrahasta. F. Kielhorn, *EI* 3: 220-24.

35. Kalahandi plates of Anantavarman Vajrahasta. P. Banerjee, *EI* 31, pt. 7: 317-22; Satyanarayana Rajguru, *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* 35, pts. 1 & 2: 10-27.

36. Nirakarapur plates of Udayakhedi. Satyanarayana Rajguru, *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* 35, pts. 1 & 2: 1-10.

37. Galavalli plates of Manujendravarman. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 31, pt. 4: 187-91; N. Ramesan, *JAHRS* 20, pts. 1-4: 161-70.

38. Chidivalasa plates of Devendravarman. Dines Chandra Sircar, *JASL* 18, no. 2: 77-81; R. Subba Rao, *QJAHRS* 2, pt. 2: 146-64; K. Sambamurti, *Journal of the Telugu Academy* (Telugu), 1927.

39. Napitavataka plates of Devendravarman. G.S. Gai, *EI* 34, pt. 4: 189-92; M. Somasekhara Sarma, *Bhārati* (Telugu) 14, pt. 2: 67 ff.

40. Chicacole plates of Anantavarman. Dines Chandra Sircar, *JASL* 18, no. 1: 47-51; C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao, *JAHRS* 8, pts. 2 & 3: 193-94.

The Bhauma-Karas

1. Cāmuṇḍā image inscription of Vatsadevī. Dines Chandra Sircar, *EI* 28, pt. 4: 184-85.

2. Neulpur plate of Śubhākara. R.D. Banerji, *EI* 15: 1-8; Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 1-7.

3. Hamseśvara temple inscription. Dines Chandra Sircar, *EI* 28, pt. 4: 180-83.

4. Khadipada image inscription of the time of Śubhākara. A. Ghosh, *EI* 26: 1941-42; S.C. De, *PIHC*, 1949, pp. 66-74.

5. Chaurasi plate of Śivakaradeva. Narayana Tripathi, *JBORS* 14, pt. 2: 292-306.

6. Gaṇeśagumpha inscription of Śāntikara's time. R.D. Banerji, *EI* 13: 159-67; Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 10.

7. Dhauli cave inscription of Śāntikara. R.D. Banerji, *EI* 19: 263-64; Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 11.

8. Terundia plate of Śubhākara. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 28: 211-16.

9. Hindol plate of Śubhākaradeva. Binayak Misra, *JBORS* 16, pt. 1: 69-83; *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 12-20.

10. Dharakota plate of Śubhākara. Satyanarayana Rajaguru, *JAHRS* 4, pts. 3 & 4: 189-94; Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 21-22.

11. Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādevī. Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 23-31; Hara Prasad Sastri, *JBORS* 2, pt. 4: 419-27.

12. Talcher plate of Śubhākara; year 141. Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 32-39.

13. Talcher plate of Śivakaradeva; year 149. Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 40-50.

14. Talcher plate of Śivakaradeva; year 149. Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 51.

15. Baud plate of Tribhuvanamahādevī. S.C. De, *EI* 29, pt. 7: 216-19.

16. Baud plate of Tribhuvanamahādevī. S.C. De, *EI* 29, pt. 7: 219.

17. Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādevī. F. Kielhorn, *EI* 6: 133-40; Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 57-58.

18. Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādevī. F. Kielhorn, *EI* 6: 140-42; Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 59.

19. Santiragrama plate of Daṇḍimahādevī. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 29, pts. 3-4: 79-89.

20. Kumurang plate of Daṇḍimahādevī. H. Panday, *JBORS* 5, pt. 4: 564-81.

21. Ambapua plate of Daṇḍimahādevī. Copperplate no. 22 of the *ARIE* for 1950-51, Appendix A, p. 8.

22. Ambagaon plate of Daṇḍimahādevī. Unpublished; referred to by Umakanta Subuddhi, *The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, p. 24, n. 24.

23. Arual plate of Daṇḍimahādevī. Unpublished; referred to by Umakanta Subuddhi, *The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, p. 25, n. 18.

24. Grant of Vakulamahādevī. P.R. Srinivasan, *EI* 36: 307-12.

25. Angul plate of Dharmamahādevī. Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 52-56; Priyatosh Banerjee, *JASBL* 17, no. 3: 245-50.

26. Taltali plate of Dharmamahādevī. Ghanashyam Das and Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, *IHQ* 21: 213-22.

27. Angul plate of Śāntikaradeva (?). A. Das, *OHRJ* 13, no. 4: 1-4.

Period III: The Tenth to the Mid-Twelfth Century

The early Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

1. Kumurukela plates of Śatrubhañja. B.C. Mazumdar, *JBORS* 2, pt. 4: 429-35.

2. Sonpur plates of Śatrubhañja. B.C. Mazumdar, *EI* 11: 98-104.

3. Singharā plates of Raṇabhañja. B.C. Mazumdar, *JBORS* 6, pt. 4: 481-86.

4. Orissa Museum plates of Raṇabhañjadeva. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, *OHRJ* 11, no. 3: 155-59.

5. Binka plates of Raṇabhañjadeva. B.C. Mazumdar, *JBORS* 2, pt. 2: 167-77; Adrish Chandra Banerji, *ABORI* 14, pts. 1-2: 134-41.

6. Patna museum plates of Raṇabhañja. R.D. Banerji, *EI* 20: 100-04.
7. Daspalla plates of Raṇabhañja. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *JBORS* 6, pt. 2: 266-79.
8. Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja, year 26. R.D. Banerji, *EI* 12: 325-28.
9. Baudh undated plates of Raṇabhañjadeva. A.C. Banerji, *JBORS* 20, pt. 1: 147-52.
10. Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja, year 54. R.D. Banerji, *EI* 12: 322-25.
11. Baudh plates of Raṇabhañja, year 58. Adris Banerji, *IHQ* 10, no. 3: 473-77.

The later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

1. Gumsur plates of Neṭṭabhañja. James Princep, *JASB* 6: 667-71.
2. Ganjam plates of Neṭṭabhañjadeva. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, *EI* 18: 293-95.
3. Ganjam plates of Neṭṭabhañja. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, *EI* 18: 295-96.
4. Komanda plates of Neṭṭabhañja. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, *EI* 24: 172-75.
5. Pettasara plates of Neṭṭabhañja. C.C. Das Gupta, *EI* 27: 337-40; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *JKHRS* 1, no. 4: 285 ff.
6. Plates of Śilābhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa. D.C. Sircar and P. Acharya, *EI* 28, pt. 6: 272-83.
7. Orissa plates of Vidyādharabhañjadeva. F. Kielhorn, *EI* 9: 271-77; Rajendralal Mitra, *JASB* 56, no. 3: 154-60.
8. Ganjam plates of Vidyādharabhañja. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, *EI* 18: 296-98.
9. Orissa Museum plates of Neṭṭabhañja. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, *OHRJ* 11, no. 1: 9-16; P.R. Srinivasan, *EI* 37: 257.
10. Daspalla plates of Neṭṭabhañja. Binayak Misra, *JBORS* 6, pt. 2: 274-79.
11. Daspalla plates of Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 24, pt. 6: 189-94; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *OHRJ* 1, no. 3: 208-13.
12. Ganjam plates of Śatrubhañja. Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *OHRJ* 4, nos. 3 & 4: 67-76.
13. Plates of Neṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa. D.C. Sircar and P. Acharya, *EI* 28, pt. 6: 278-83.
14. Jangalapadu plates of Śatrubhañjadeva. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 30, pt. 6: 250-54.; R.D. Banerji, *JBORS* 18, no. 3: 387-90; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *JKHRS* 1, no. 2: 181 ff.

The Baripada stone inscriptions

1. Baripada stone inscription of Dhruvarāja. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 33, pt. 2: 85 (inscription no. 1); Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *OHRJ* 1, no. 2: 179 (inscription no. 3).

2. Baripada stone inscription of Kumāravarmarāja. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 33, pt. 2: 85 (inscription no. 2); Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *OHRJ* 1, no. 2: 179 (inscription no. 1).

3. Baripada stone inscription of a Bhañja king. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 33, pt. 2: 86 (inscription no. 3); Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *OHRJ* 1, no. 2: 179 (inscription no. 2).

The Ādi-Bhañjas

1. Adipur plate of Narendrabhañja. R.C. Majumdar, *EI* 25: 147-57.

2. Adipur plate of Narendrabhañja. R.C. Majumdar, *EI* 25: 157-61.

3. Bamanghati plate of Raṇabhañja. Babu Pratapachandra Ghosh, *JASB* 40, no. 3, pt. 1: 165-67.

4. Bamanghati plate of Rājabhañja. Babu Pratapachandra Ghosh, *JASB* 40, no. 3, pt. 1: 168-69.

5. Khiching plate of Mahanmadāhavabhañjadeva. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 30, pt. 6: 220-25.

6. Ukhunda plate of Pṛthvībhañja. Binayak Misra, *IHQ* 13, no. 3: 427-29.

7. Keśari plate of Śatrubhañja. R.C. Majumdar, *EI* 25: 161-64; Binayak Misra, *IHQ* 13, no. 3: 429-30.

8. Khandadeuli plate of Narendrabhañja. Haraprasad Shastri, *JBORS* 4, pt. 2: 172-77.

9. Adipur plate of Durjayabhañja. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, *EI* 25: 172-73.

Neṭṭabhañja of the Jurāḍā grant

1. Jurāḍā grant of Neṭṭabhañjadeva. C.R. Krishnamacharlu, *EI* 24, pt. 1: 15-20; Lakshminarayan Harichandra Jagadeb, *JAHRS* 7, pt. 2: 109-14.

The Bhañjas of Baudh

1. Baud plates of Salonabhañja. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, *EI* 26: 276-79.

2. Baud plates of Kanakabhañja. Satyanarayan Rajaguru and Snigdha Tripathy, *OHRJ* 16, no. 3: 14-30; B.C. Mazumdar, *JBORS* 2, pt. 3: 356-74; R.D. Banerji, *JBORS* 14, pt. 1: 114-26; Charu Chandra Dasgupta, *IHQ* 9: 751-69.

The Bhañjas of Kolāḍa

1. Antirigam plates of Yaśabhañjadeva. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, *EI* 18: 298-99.

2. Antirigam plates of Jayabhañjadeva. Tarini Charan Rath, *EI* 19: 41-45.

Udayavarāha

1. Bonai plate of Udayavarāha. Haraprasad Shastri, *JBORS* 6: 241-45.

Narendradhavala

1. The Madras Museum plates of the time of Narendradhavala. Dines Chandra Sircar, *EI* 28, pts. 1-2: 44-50.

The Śulkīs

1. Dhenkanal plate of Raṇastambha. Hara Prasad Shastri, *JBORS* 2, pt. 4: 396-400; A. Banerji-Sastri, *JASB, N.S.* 27: 319-22.

2. Grant of Raṇastambha. Hara Prasad Shastri, *JBORS* 2, pt. 2: 168-71.

3. Talcher plate of Kulastambha alias Raṇastambha. R.D. Banerji, *EI* 12: 156-59; Babu Nagendra Vasu, *The Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja* 1: 157 ff.; *Journal of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad* 18, pt. 1: 59 ff.

4. Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha. Hara Prasad Shastri, *JBORS* 2, pt. 4: 405-09.

5. Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha. Hara Prasad Shastri, *JBORS* 2, pt. 4: 409-12.

6. Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha. Hara Prasad Shastri, *JBORS* 2, pt. 4: 412-17; A. Banerji-Sastri, *JASB, N.S.* 27: 322-25.

7. Dhenkanal plate of Kulastambha. Hara Prasad Shastri, *JBORS* 2, pt. 4: 400-05.

8. Hindol plate of Kulastambha. D.C. Sircar and P. Acharya, *EI* 28, pt. 3: 107-14.

9. Puri plate of Kulastambha. Babu Man Mohan Chakravarti, *JASB* 64, pt. 1: 125-27.

10. Puri plate of Kulastambha. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 29, pt. 6: 164-69; Babu Man Mohan Chakravarti, *JASB* 64, pt. 1: 123-27.

The Tuṅgas

1. Talcher plate of Gayāḍatuṅga. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 34, pt. 2: 93-96; N.K. Sahu, *OHRJ* 7, no. 1: 66-70.

2. Talcher plate of Gayāḍatuṅga. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 34, pt. 2: 96-100; R. D. Banerji, *JPASB, N.S.* 12: 291-95.

3. Asiatic Society plate of Gayāḍatuṅga. D. C. Sircar, *EI* 34, pt. 2: 100-04; Nilmani Chakravarti, *JPASB* 5, no. 9: 347-50.

4. Bonai plate of Vinītatuṅga. Haraprasad Shastri, *JBORS* 6, pt. 2: 236-40.

5. Khargaprasada plate of Vinītatuṅga. A.K. Rath, *OHRJ* 11, no. 4: 242-54.

Jayasiṁha

1. Dhenkanal plate of Jayasiṁha. Hara Prasad Shastri, *JBORS* 2, pt. 4: 417-19; Binayak Misra, *Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa*, pp. 23-26.

Nandodbhavas

1. Baripada Museum plate of Devānandadeva. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, *EI* 26: 74-82.

2. Jurerpur plate of Devānandadeva. Dines Chandra Sircar, *EI* 27: 325-30.

3. Narsingpur plate of Devānandadeva. Dines Chandra Sircar, *EI* 27: 331-34.

4. Tamra plate of Devānandadeva. Satyanarayan Rajguru, *OHRJ* 15, nos. 1& 2: 115-20.

5. Daspalla plate of Devānandadeva. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 24, pt. 6: 183-89.

6. Jayapura or Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadeva. Narayana Tripathi, *JBORS* 16, pts. 3 & 4: 457-72; A. Banerji-Sastri, *JBORS* 15: 87-100.

Vīra-Pracaṇḍadeva

1. Hindol plate of Vīra-Pracaṇḍadeva. Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *OHRJ* 12, no. 1: 4-8.

The Somavaṁśīs

1. Vakrantentalī plates of Mahābhavagupta I. B.C. Mazumdar, *EI* 11: 93-95.

2. Kalibhana plates of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. D.C. Sircar and P. C. Rath, *IHQ* 20: 238-44.

3. Patna plates of Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta; year 6. Pratapachandra Ghosha, *JASB* 46: 173-78; J.F. Fleet, *EI* 3: 340-44.

4. Patna plates of Mahābhavagupta; year 6. Ganga Mohan Laskar, *JASB, N.S.* 1: 4-6, 12-13.

5. Nagpur Museum plates of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. E. Hultzsch, *EI* 8: 138-43.

6. Gaintala plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya; year 17. S.N. Rajaguru and M.P. Dash, *OHRJ* 11, no. 3: 192-97.

7. Sonepur plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya; year 17. B.Ch. Chhabra, *EI* 23: 248-55.

8. Kapāleśvara plates of Mahābhavagupta ; year 31. Babu Rangalala Banerjea, *IA* 5: 55-58; J.F. Fleet, *EI* 3: 345-51(inscription 'B').

9. Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta ; year 31. J. F. Fleet, *EI* 3: 345-51 (inscription 'C').

10. Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta, year 31. Rajendrala Mitra, *JPASB* 51, pt. 1: 9-14; J.F. Fleet, *EI* 3: 345-51 (inscription 'D').

11. Kalibhana plates of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. D.C. Sircar and P.C. Rath, *IHQ* 20: 245-50.

12. Orissa State Museum plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti. S.N. Rajaguru, *IO*, 4: 159-66.

13. Balangir plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti; year 8. D.C. Sircar, *JASBL* 19: 117-24; Ganga Mohan Laskar, *JASB, N.S.* 1: 6-7; 14-16.

14. Cuttack plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti; year 9. Babu Rangalala Banerjea, *JASB* 46, no. 2, pt. 1: 149-57; J.F. Fleet, *EI* 3: 351-55.

15. Nibinnā plates of Mahāśivagupta. B.C. Mazumdar, *EI* 11: 95-98.

16. Patna plates of Mahāśivagupta; year 24. Ganga Mohan Laskar, *JASB, N.S.* 1: 7-8; 16-18.

17. Patna plates of Mahāśivagupta; year 28. Ganga Mohan Laskar, *JASB, N.S.* 1: 8-12, 19-23.

18. Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta Bhīmaratha. J.F. Fleet, *EI* 3: 355-59.

19. Mahakosala Historical Society's plates of Mahābhavaguptarāja. L. P. Pandeya, *EI* 22: 135-38.

20. Khandpara plates of Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha. Shushil Chandra De, *OHRJ* 12: 60-70.

21. Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti. S.N. Rajaguru, *IO*, 4: 218-24; B.C. Mazumdar, *JBORS* 2, no. 1: 45-59.

22. Narasinghpur plates of Udyotakeśarī Mahābhavagupta IV. Binayak Misra, *JBORS* 17: 1-24.

23. Lalatendu-kesari cave inscription of Udyotakeśarī. R.D. Banerji, *EI* 13: 166-67.

24. Kudopali plates of the time of Mahābhavagupta; year 13. F. Kielhorn, *EI* 4: 254-59.

25. Navamuni cave inscription of the time of Udyotakeśarī. R.D. Banerji, *EI* 13: 165-66.

26. Second inscription in the Navamuni cave. R.D. Banerji, *EI* 13: 166.

27. Brahmeśvara temple stone inscription of the time of Udyotakeśarī. S.N. Rajaguru, *IO* 4: 244-52; J. Princep, *JASB* 7: 557-62; P. Acharya, *JRASBL* 13: 63-74.

28. Ratnagiri plates of Karṇa. Debala Mitra, *EI* 33, pt. 6: 263-68; D.C. Sircar, *EI* 33, pt. 6: 269-74; Narayana Tripathi, *JBORS* 16, pt. 2: 206-10.

29. Sūrya image inscription of Karṇarāja. S.N. Rajaguru, *IO* 4: 265-67.

30. Sonpur plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 28, pt. 7: 322-26; B.C. Mazumdar, *EI* 12: 237-42.

31. Stray plate found at Sonepur. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 28, pt. 7: 326-28.

32. Fragmentary stone inscription of Raṇakesarin at Govindapur. Binayak Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 74 (facsimile and note; no text).

33. Inscription of Vīravarakesarin in the Liṅgarāja temple. Dines Chandra Sircar and Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, *Indian Culture* 3, no. 1: 122-25; Suryanarayan Das, *OHRJ* 1, no. 4: 301 ff.

The Gaṅgas (III): the imperial Gaṅgas

41. Andhavaram plates of Vajrahasta. R. Subrahmanyam, *EI* 31, pt. 5: 202-04.

42. Ponduru plates of Vajrahasta. Manda Narasimham, *JAHRS* 9, pt. 3: 23-30.

43. Simhipura plates of Kadamba king Dharmakhedi. Satyanarayana Rajaguru, *JAHRS* 3, pts. 2, 3, & 4: 171-80.

44. Chicacole plates of Madhu-Kāvārṇavadeva. G. Ramadas, *JBORS* 18: 272-95; C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao, *JAHRS* 8, pts. 2 & 3: 168-70, 180-82.

45. Mandasa plates of Anantavarman. G. Ramadas, *JBORS* 17, pts. 2-3: 175-88.

46. Narasapatam plates of Vajrahasta. Sten Konow, *EI* 11: 147-53.

47. Chicacole plates of Vajrahasta. C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao, *JAHRS* 8, pts. 2 & 3: 163-66, 171-76.

48. Nadagam plates of Vajrahasta. G.V. Ramamurti, *EI* 4: 183-93.

49. Arasavalli plates of Vajrahasta. G.S. Gai, *EI* 32, pt. 7: 310-16; Manda Narasimham, *Bhārati* (Telugu), May 1954, pp. 449 ff.

50. Chikkalavalasa plates of Vajrahasta. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 23, pt. 3: 141-46; Somasekhara Sarma, *Bhārati* (Telugu) 2, no. 1: 138 ff.

51. Boddapadu plates of Vajrahasta. G.S. Gai, *EI* 34, pt. 1: 42-44; M. Somasekhara, *Bhārati* (Telugu) 3, no. 5: 83 ff.

52. Peddabamiddi plates of Vajrahasta. R.C. Majumdar, *EI* 31, pt. 7: 305-08.

53. Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta. Sten Konow, *EI* 9: 94-98.

54. Madagrama plates of Devendravarman and Bhīmakhedi. R.C. Majumdar, *EI* 31, pts. 1-2: 45-52.

55. Ganjam plates of Vajrahasta. R.C. Majumdar, *EI* 22:67-73.

56. Dirghasi inscription of Vanapati. G.V. Ramamurti, *EI* 4: 314-18.

57. Galavalli plates of Rājarāja I Devendravarman. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 31: 191-96; N. Ramesan, *JAHRS* 20: 171-76.

58. Chicacole plates of Rājarāja I. C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao, *JAHRS* 8, pts. 2 & 3: 166-68, 176-80.

59. Stone inscription of Devendravarman at Gara. B.V. Krishanrao, *JAHRS* 12, pt. 2: 112 (summary of inscription).

60. Stone inscription in Ramachandi temple at Tekkali. Lakshminarayana Harishchandana Jagadeb Rajah Bahadur, *JAHRS* 11, pts. 1 & 2: 16-18.

61. Vizagapatnam plates of Coḍagaṅga; Śaka 1003. J.F. Fleet, *IA* 17: 161-65.

62. Korni plates of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. G.V. Sitapati, *QJAHRS* 1, pt. 1: 40-48; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *IO* 3, pt. 1: 28.

63. Murupaka plates of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *IO* 3, pt. 1: 32.

64. Sellada plates of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao, *JAHRS* 8, pts. 2 & 3: 183-85, 191-92.

65. Korni plates of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. G.V. Sitapati, *QJAHRS* 1, no. 3: 106-24; Satyanarayan Rajaguru, *IO* 3, pt. 1: 64; G. V. Sitapati, *Bhārati* (Telugu) 2: 101-20.

66. Puri inscription of the time of Coḍagaṅga. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 33, pt. 4: 181-85.

67. Bhubaneswar inscription of Coḍagaṅga. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 30, pt. 1: 31-32; K.C. Panigrahi, *OHRJ* 1, no. 2: 1-7.

68. Palaṁgara grant of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 30, pt. 3: 93 (some remarks on it).

69. Vizagapatnam plates of Coḍagaṅga; Śaka 1040. J.F. Fleet, *IA* 17: 165-72.

70. Vizagapatnam plates of Coḍagaṅga; Śaka 1057. J.F. Fleet, *IA* 17: 172-76.

71. Jagannath temple inscription of Coḍagaṅgadeva. Arjun Joshi, *OHRJ* 9, nos. 3 & 4: 47-50.

72. Alagum inscription of Anantavarman; year 62. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 29, pt. 2: 44-48.

73. Bhubaneswar inscription of Coḍagaṅga; year 62. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 30, pt. 1: 32.

74. Bhubaneswar inscription of Pramāḍi; Śaka 1064. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 30, pt. 3: 90-94; K.C. Panigrahi, *OHRJ* 1, no. 2: 7-8.

75. Mukteśvara temple inscription of the time of Coḍagaṅga. Arjun Joshi, *OHRJ* 10, nos. 1 & 2: 14-16.

76. Fragmentary Bhubaneswar inscription of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 30, pt. 1: 30, n. 1 (reference to the inscription).

77. Bhubaneswar inscription of Pramāḍi's son, Coḍagaṅga. D.C. Sircar, *EI* 30, pt. 3: 92 (reference to the first three lines of the inscription).

Appendix II

Official Designations and Titles in the Inscriptions of Ancient and Early Medieval Orissa[1]

Period I: The Fourth to the Seventh Century

Mahārāja Śatrudamana

—

Viśākhavarman, the Pitṛbhaktas, Māṭharas, and Vāsiṣṭhas

Bhojaka, kumārāmātya, mahābalādhikṛta, daṇḍanetṛ, deśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta, amātya, daṇḍanāyaka, talavara, bhogika, mahādaṇḍanāyaka, mahāpratihāra.

The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara: Indravarman I - Indravarman II (inscription nos. 1-13)

Bhogika, talavara, deva-bhogika, mahāmahattara, sāndhivigrahika, amātya, sarvādhikṛta, hastādhyakṣa, rahasika.

Pṛthivī-mahārāja

—

Charamparāja of the Khandipada Nuapalli plates

Śrī-sāmanta, mahāsāmanta, mahārāja, rājanaka, rājaputra, daṇḍanāyaka, kumārāmātya, uparika, tadāyuktaka, vyavahārin, karaṇa, bhogī.

[1]The designations and titles enumerated here are those that appear in the list of persons informed of the royal grant, as well as the designations of the various individuals associated with the drawing up of the charter (the writer, messenger, etc.). In some cases, a particular individual bore more than one designation or title. It may be noted that in addition to the terms that appear in this table, most of the copperplate grants are addressed to the inhabitants of the gifted land (the term kuṭumbin or householder appears very often in this context) and the Brāhmaṇas. The spellings of the terms have in most cases been standardized. An exception has been made where a term is unfamiliar and its meaning uncertain, in which case the term is followed by a question-mark in parenthesis: (?). The terms are enumerated in the order in which they appear in the inscriptions.

Mahārāja Śatrubhañja

—

Mahārāja Diśābhañja

—

Mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra

Kumārāmātya, rājanaka, viṣayapati, tadāyuktaka, mahāmahattara, bhogin, vyavahārin, viṣay-ādhikaraṇa, mahattara, karaṇika, pustapāla, kāyastha.

The Vigrahas

Sāmanta, mahārāja, rājaputra, kumārāmātya, uparika, tadāyuktaka, daṇḍapāsika, sthānāntarika, vyavahārin, vaiṣayika, mahāsāmanta, vaiśvāsika, viṣayapati, aṁsabṛhadbhogika.

The Mudgalas/Mānas

Mahāsāmanta, mahārāja, rājaputra, kumārāmātya, uparika, viṣayapati tadāyuktaka, dāṇḍapāsika, sthānāntarika, cāṭas and bhaṭas, mahāmahattara, kūṭakola, sāmanta-rāja, rājasthānīya, uparika, bṛhadbhogika, mahāsandhivigrahika, peḍapālaka, mahattara.

Feudatories of Śaśāṅka; Śubhakīrti and the Dattas

The Tāvīra adhikaraṇa which was composed of or included Brāhmaṇas among its members, amātya, mahāsāmanta, mahārāja, rājaputra, kumārāmātya, uparika, viṣayapati, tadāyuktaka, dāṇḍapāsika, sthānāntarika, cāṭas and bhaṭas, viṣaya-mahāmahattara, mahāmahattara, kūṭakola, pustapāla, viṣaya-niyukta, bṛhadbhogika, sāndhivigrahika, mahattaraka, peḍāpālaka.

The Nalas

Śīrṣaka of the donated village, samāhartṛ, rahasyādhikṛta, rahasiniyuktaka, senāpati.

Mahārāja Tuṣṭikāra

Rāhasika.

The Śarabhapurīyas

Bhogapati, sarvādhikārādhikṛta, mahāsāmanta.

The Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs

Grāmakūṭa, droṇāgīka/ droṇāgraka (drāṅgika?), gaṇḍakānāyaka (daṇḍanāyaka?), devavārika, nāyaka, gaṇḍaka, samāhartṛ, sannidhātṛ, karaṇas, rājaputra, rāhasika, pradhāna .

Period II: The Seventh to the Tenth Century

The Śailodbhavas

Kumārāmātya, uparika, tadāyuktaka/tadāniyuktaka/tadāviniyuktaka, śrī-sāmanta, mahāsāmanta, mahārāja, rājaputra, daṇḍanāyaka, viṣayapati, karaṇa, rājanaka, antaraṅga, vaiśvāsika, pattalaka, daṇḍapāśika, rājasthānīya, vaiṣayika, vyavahārin, cāṭas and bhaṭas, pratihāra/pratihārin, saciva, pañca-karaṇ-oparika, vaiśvāsika, bhogī, bṛhadbhogī, sāndhivigrahin/ sāndhivigrahika, peṭapāla/peṭāpāla.

Neṭṭabhañja

Śrī-sāmanta, mahāsāmanta, rājan, rājanaka, rājaputra, antaraṅga, kumārāmātya, uparika, tadāyuktaka, bhogika.

The Gaṅgas of Śvetaka

Vyavahārin, karaṇa, sāmanta, śrīsāmanta, mahāsāmanta, rājanaka, rājaputra, kumārāmātya, uparika, daṇḍanāyaka, viṣayapati, grāmapati, vyavahārin, karaṇa, pradhānapuruṣa, rāṣṭrakūṭa, bhogī/bhogika, antaraṅga, bahiraṅga, daṇḍapāśika, sāmavājika, cāṭas and bhaṭas, mahāsandhivigrahin, sandhivigrahin, mahāpratihāra, mahādevī, yuvarāja, dharmmādhikaraṇa, mahattara, pratihāra.

The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara: (inscription nos. 14-40)

Bhogika, bārika (?), pālaka of the gift village, rāṣṭrakūṭa, karaṇa, mahāmahattara, purohita, mahattara, mantrin, mahāmantrin, rahasya, mahāsandhivigrahin, śrī-sāmanta, amātya (?), sandhivigrahin, cāṭas and bhaṭas, daṇḍapāśika, kāyastha.

The Bhauma-Karas

Mahāsāmanta, mahārāja, rājaputra, antaraṅga, kumārāmātya, uparika, viṣayapati, tadāyuktaka, dāṇḍapāśika, sthānāntarika, cāṭas and bhaṭas, mahāmahattara, bṛhadbhogika/bṛhadbhogin, pustapāla, koṭapāla, kūṭakola, rāṇaka/pradhāna, sāmanta, sāmavājin, rājasatka, balahita, sāmanta, mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta / mahākṣapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛta, bhogī, peṭapāla/ peṭṭapāla/peḍāpāla, mahāsandhivigrahin, mahāpratihāra.

Period III: The Tenth to the Mid-Twelfth Century

The Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala

Rājan, rājanaka, antaraṅga, kumārāmātya, mahāsāmanta, mātṛn (probably mantrin), daṇḍapāsika, cāṭas and bhaṭas, sandhivigraḥika/sandhivigrahin, rājaputra, viṣayapati, vyavahārin, karaṇas, sāmanta, mahāsāmanta, śrīsāmanta, bhogī, valgulin/vāgulika, mantrin, pratihāra/pratīhāra, mahāpratihāra, pañca-karaṇ-ādhikṛta.

The Bhañja king of the Baripada inscription and his contemporaries

—

The Ādi-Bhañjas of Khijjiṅga-koṭṭa

Mahādevī, yuvarāja, sandhivigrahin, mudrahasta, pratīhāra, puraśreṣṭin, mahāsāmanta.

Neṭṭabhañja of the Jurāḍā plates

Sāmanta, sāmavājī, mahādevī, yuvarāja, pātra, akṣapaṭalī, pratihāra, vāguni.

The Bhañjas of Baud

—

The Bhañjas of Kolāḍa

Sāmanta, sandhivigrahin, pātra, amātya, khaṇḍapāla, rājaputra, yuvarāja, akṣapaṭalin, pratihāra, rāṇaka, vyavahārin.

Udayavarāha of the Bonai plate

Rājanaka, rājaputra, mahāsāmanta, kumārāmātya, uparika, sandhivigrahika, tadāyuktaka, dāṇḍapāśika, sthānāntarika, cāṭas and bhaṭas.

Narendradhavala of the Madras Museum Plates

Rāṇaka, rājaputra, mahāsāmanta.

The Śulkīs

Sāmanta, mahāsāmanta, mahārāja, rājanaka, rājaputra, rājñī, kumārāmātya, uparika, viṣayapati, tadāyuktaka, sāmavājī, niyuktaka, daṇḍapāśika, sthānāntarika, antaraṅga, nagarana, pustapālaka, kaṇṭakāla, bhogī, sādhy-ādhikaraṇa, karaṇa, cāṭas and bhaṭas, kāyastha, mahāsandhivigrahika, balabhita (?).

The Tuṅgas

Rājanaka, rājaputra, rājasthānīya, sāmanta, mahāsāmanta, vyavahārin, sāmavājin, kumārāmātya, uparika, daṇḍapāśika, sthānāntarika.

Jayasiṁhadeva

Rājaputra, antaraṅga, vyavahārin, karaṇa, cāṭas and bhaṭas, mahābhogin.

The Nandodbhavas

Rājanaka, rājaputra, sāmanta, adhikārin, karaṇas, cāṭas and bhaṭas, sandhivigrahin/sandhivigrahika.

Vīra-Pracaṇḍadeva

Niyuktaka, daṇḍapāśika, sāmanta, mahattara, sāmavājī, bhogī, pustapālaka, karaṇa.

The Somavaṁśīs

Samāhartṛ, sannidhātṛ, dāṇḍapāśika, piśuna, vetrika, cāṭas and bhaṭas, rāṇaka, rājaputra, niyuktaka, ādhikārika, talahita (?), sāmanta, āsika (?), bhogin, talavargin, sāmavājin, maṇḍalādhipati, viṣayapati, khaṇḍapati, avarodhajana, rājñī, bhogī-rūpa, kāyastha, mahāsandhivigrahin, rāṇaka, mahākṣapaṭalin/ mahākṣapaṭalika/mahākṣapaṭalādhyakṣa, mantrin, sandhivigrahin, nāyaka, mahattama, mahāmahattama.

The Imperial Gaṅgas (inscription nos. 41-77)

Pācāgrā prakṛti-ramātya (?), pañcapātra, sāmavājī, rāṣṭrakūṭa, viṣayapradhāna, rāṇaka, rājaputra, viṣayapati, sandhivigrahin, sāmanta, amātya, śāsanīka, kāyastha, mahākāyastha, mudrāhasta, pasāpālaka, śrī-karaṇa, purohita, yuvarāja, dauvārika, kāriki, śāsan-ādhikārī, mahāmātya.

Appendix III

Fiscal Terms in the Inscriptions of Ancient and Early Medieval Orissa[1]

Period I: The Fourth to the Seventh Century

Mahārāja Śatrudamana
Pratyāya, meya.

Viśākhavarman, the Pitṛbhaktas, Māṭharas, and Vāsiṣṭhas
Kara-bhara, meyavarim (?), meya, hiraṇya, vāṇa (?).

The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara: (inscription nos. 1-13)
Kara, bhara, bhāga, bhoga.

Pṛthivī-mahārāja
Kara.

Charamparāja of the Khandipada Nuapalli plates
Kara (in the term a-karīkṛtya).

Mahārāja Śatrubhañja
—

Mahārāja Diśābhañja
—

Mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra
—

The Vigrahas
Kara, uparikara.

[1]Some of these terms—e.g. kara—appear to be terms for taxes in general, while others refer to specific dues. The terms are enumerated here in the order in which they appear in the inscriptions.

The Mudgalas/Mānas
Parikara/uparikara.

Feudatories of Śaśavika; Śubhakīrti and the Dattas
—

The Nalas
Kara, hiraṇya, śulka, pratyāya.

Mahārāja Tuṣṭikāra
—

The Śarabhapurīyas
Meya, hiraṇya, pratyāya, bhoga, bhāga, kara.

The Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs
Odraṅga, parikara/uparikara, bhāga, bhoga, kara, dāradraṇaka. Some of the endowments are said to be cora-daṇḍa-varjita and sa-daś-āparādha: these may have had some fiscal implications.

Period II: The Seventh to the Tenth Century

The Śailodbhavas
Kara (in a-karīkṛtya).

Neṭṭabhañja
Kara.

The Gaṅgas of Śvetaka
Kara, bhara.

The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara II: (inscriptions no. 14-40)
Kara, bhara, bhāga, bhoga, pratyāya.

The Bhauma-Karas
Uparikara and kara (as in a-karatvena).

Period III: The Tenth to the Mid-Twelfth Century

The Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala
Kara (in a-karatvena).

The Bhañja king of the Baripada inscription and his contemporaries
—

The Ādi-Bhañjas of Khijjiṅga-koṭṭa
Kara (in a-karatvena).

Neṭṭabhañja of the Jurāḍā plates
Rājakīya pratyāya, kara, khaṇḍapāla, muṇḍamola.

The Bhañjas of Baud
—

The Bhañjas of Kolāḍa
Kara (in a-karatvena) bhāga, bhoga, hiraṇya, pratyāya.

Udayavarāha of the Bonai plate
—

Narendradhavala of the Madras Museum Plates
—

The Śulkīs
Kara (in a-karatvena), tṛṇ-odaka (in the Talcher plate of Kulastambha, a kara-śāsana), parikara/uparikara.

The Tuṅgas
Tṛṇ-odaka, parikara.

Jayasiṁhadeva
—

The Nandodbhavas
—

Vīra-Pracaṇḍadeva
—

The Somavaṁśīs
Uparikara, kara, bhoga, bhāga, hiraṇya, nikara, hastidaṇḍa, varavalā-vanda/vara-balivardā, coṭāla/ciṭṭola, andhāruvā/andhāruā, pratyandhāruvā/

pratyandhāruā, adattā, padāti-jīva/jivya, ahidaṇḍa, antarābaḍḍi/antarāvaḍḍi, rintakāvaḍḍi, vasāvakī, viṣayālī, vandhadaṇḍa, vijaya-vandāpanā, mārggaṇika, hala-daṇḍa, suvarṇṇadaṇḍa, śāsan-ārddhika, cara-balīvarda, ātura-vaḍḍi, go-gauḍa, vartmadaṇḍa , khaṇḍapāla, tṛṇ-odaka.
The terms 'sa-daś-āparādha' and 'sa-pratihāra' seem to have some fiscal connotations too.

The imperial Gaṅgas (inscription nos. 41-77)

Kara, bhāga, bhoga.

Appendix IV

Administrative Levels in the Kingdoms of Ancient and Early Medieval Orissa[1]

Period I: The Fourth to the Seventh Century

Mahārāja Śatrudamana
Grāma/vāṭaka.

Viśākhavarman, the Pitṛbhaktas, Māṭharas, and Vāsiṣṭhas
Grāma/grāmaka, pāriśva,[2] viṣaya, bhoga, madamba, pañcāli.

The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara: (inscription nos. 1-13)
Grāma, bhoga, pañcālī, viṣaya, rāṣṭra.

Pṛthivī-mahārāja
Grāma, viṣaya.

Śrī-Charamparāja of the Khandipada Nuapalli plates
Grāma, viṣaya.

Mahārāja Śatrubhañja
—

Mahārāja Diśābhañja
—

Mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra
Vithi.

[1]The terms are enumerated in the order in which they occur in the inscriptions; this is, in most part, in ascending order of size.

[2]It is not certain whether pāriśva (= pārśva?) should be interpreted as a type of territorial unit. (See Sircar, [487] p. 379, f.n. 379 for the occurrence of the term 'pārṣva' elsewhere, and Sircar's view that it should not be considered a type of territorial unit.)

The Vigrahas
Grāma, viṣaya.

The Mudgalas/Mānas
Grāma/vāṭaka, viṣaya.

Feudatories of Śaśāṅka; Śubhakīrti and the Dattas
Grāma, viṣaya, maṇḍala.

The Nalas
Grāma, viṣaya.

Mahārāja Tuṣṭikāra
Vāṭaka.

The Śarabhapurīyas
Grāma, bhoga, āhāra, bhukti.

The Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs
Grāma/grāmaka/pāṭaka, rāṣṭra, viṣaya, bhukti, bhoga.

Period II: The Seveth to the Tenth Century

The Śailodbhavas
Grāma/pāṭaka, bhukti, viṣaya, maṇḍala.

Neṭṭabhañja
Grāma, viṣaya.

The Gaṅgas of Śvetaka
Grāma, viṣaya, maṇḍala.

The Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara: (inscription nos. 14-40)
Grāma, bhoga, viṣaya, maṭamba, bhukti.

The Bhauma-Karas
Grāma, khaṇḍa, viṣaya, bhukti, maṇḍala.

Period III: The Tenth to the Mid-Twelfth Century

The Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala
Grāma, khaṇḍa, viṣaya, maṇḍala.

The Bhañja king of the Baripada inscription and his contemporaries
Grāma, viṣaya (?).

The Ādi-Bhañjas of Khijjiṅga-koṭṭa
Grāma, maṇḍala, bhoga, viṣaya, khaṇḍa.

Neṭṭabhañja of the Jurāḍā plates
Grāma, viṣaya, maṇḍala.

The Bhañjas of Baud
Grāma/pāṭaka, viṣaya, khaṇḍaka.

The Bhañjas of Kolāḍa
Grāma, viṣaya.

Udayavarāha of the Bonai plate
Grāma, viṣaya.

Narendradhavala of the Madras Museum Plates
Grāma, maṇḍala.

The Śulkīs
Grāma, khaṇḍa, viṣaya, maṇḍala.

The Tuṅgas
Grāma, viṣaya, maṇḍala.

Jayasiṁhadeva
Grāma, viṣaya.

The Nandodbhavas
Grāma, khaṇḍa, viṣaya, maṇḍala.

Vīra-Pracaṇḍadeva
Viṣaya.

The Somavaṁśīs
Grāma, khaṇḍa, viṣaya, bhukti, maṇḍala.

The Imperial Gaṅgas: (inscription nos. 41-77)
Grāma/vāṭaka/palli, viṣaya, bhoga.

Appendix V

Gotra Affiliation of the Brāhmaṇa Donees

Gotra	*Period I*	*Period II*	*Period III*
1	2	3	4
	No. of Brāhmaṇas		
Agasti	—	—	1
Ātreya	15	1	300
Aupamanya	1	—	1
Autathya	—	—	3
Bhāradvāja	9	20	12
Bārhaspatya	—	—	1
Bhārgava	1	—	—
Dakṣa	—	1	—
Dālbhya	—	—	1
Devarāta	1	—	—
Dhāriṇi	1	—	—
Gārgya	1	—	3
Gautama	2	1	4
Hārita	—	1	1
Jātukarṇya	—	2	1
Kāmakāyana	1	1	—
Kāṇva	—	—	1
Kapiṣṭhala	—	—	1

1	2	3	4
Kāśyapa	4	3	14
Kātyāyana	4	1	—
Kauṇḍinya	4	4	3
Kauśika	13	5	13
Kautsa	5	—	1
Kṛṣṇātreya	—	—	4
Kumārahārita	—	—	2
Lohita	—	—	2
Māṅgalya	—	1	—
Maudgalya	—	1	2
Parāśara	12	4	8
Śāṇḍilya	2	3	2
Sāvarṇa	9	—	—
Udavāhi	—	1	—
Ulūka	—	—	1
Vaiśvāmitra	—	1	1
Vatsa	19	10	20
Vāsiṣṭha	1	1	2
Viṣṇuvṛddha	2	—	—

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